Franklin D. Roosevelt — “The Great Communicator”
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Fireside Chat #19- Progress of the War
RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT

FEBRUARY 23, 1942

My Fellow Americans:

Washington’s Birthday is a most appropriate occasion for us to talk with each other about things as they are today and things as we know they shall be in the future.

For eight years, General Washington and his Continental Army were faced continually with formidable odds and recurring defeats. Supplies and equipment were lacking. In a sense, every winter was a Valley Forge. Throughout the thirteen states there existed fifth columnists — selfish men, jealous men, fearful men, who proclaimed that Washington’s cause was hopeless, that he should ask for a negotiated peace.

Washington’s conduct in those hard times has provided the model for all Americans ever since — a model of moral stamina.
He held to his course, as it had been charted in the Declaration of Independence. He and the brave men who served with him knew that no man's life or fortune was secure, without freedom and free institutions.

The present great struggle has taught us increasingly that freedom of person and security of property anywhere in the world depend upon the security of the rights and obligations of liberty and justice everywhere in the world.

This war is a new kind of war. It is different from all other wars of the past, not only in its methods and weapons but also in its geography. It is warfare in terms of every continent, every island, every sea, every air-lane in the world.

That is the reason why I have asked you to take out and spread before you the map of the whole earth, and to follow with me the references which I shall make to the world-encircling battle lines of this war. Many questions will, I fear, remain unanswered; but I know you will realize I cannot cover everything in any one report to the people.
The broad oceans which have been heralded in the past as our protection from attack have become endless battlefields on which we are constantly being challenged by our enemies.

We must all understand and face the hard fact that our job now is to fight at distances which extend all the way around the globe.

We fight at these vast distances because that is where our enemies are. Until our flow of supplies gives us clear superiority we must keep on striking our enemies wherever and whenever we can meet them, even if, for a while, we have to yield ground. Actually we are taking a heavy toll of the enemy every day that goes by.

We must fight at these vast distances to protect our supply lines and our lines of communication with our allies -- protect these lines from the enemies who are bending every ounce of their strength, striving against time, to cut them.
The object of the Nazis and the Japanese is to separate the United States, Britain, China and Russia, and to isolate them one from another, so that each will be surrounded and cut off from sources of supplies and reinforcements. It is the old familiar Axis policy of "divide and conquer".

There are those who still think in terms of the days of sailing-ships. They advise us to pull our war ships and our planes and our merchant ships into our own home waters and concentrate solely on last ditch defense. But let me illustrate what would happen if we followed such foolish advice.

Look at your map. Look at the vast area of China, with its millions of fighting men. Look at the vast area of Russia, with its powerful armies and proven military might. Look at the British Isles, Australia, New Zealand, the Dutch Indies, India, the Near East and the Continent of Africa, with their resources of raw materials and of peoples determined to resist Axis domination. Look at North America, Central America and South America.
It is obvious what would happen if all these great reservoirs of power were cut off from each other either by enemy action or by self-imposed isolation:

In such a case

1. We could no longer send aid of any kind to China -- to the brave people who, for nearly five years, have withstood Japanese assault, destroyed hundreds of thousands of Japanese soldiers, and vast quantities of Japanese war munitions. It is essential that we help China in her magnificent defense and in her inevitable counter-offensive -- for that is one important element in the ultimate defeat of Japan.

2. If we lost communication with the southwest Pacific, all of that area, including Australia and New Zealand, would fall under Japanese domination. Japan could then release great numbers of ships and men to launch attacks on a large scale against the coasts of the Western Hemisphere, including Alaska. At the same time, she could immediately extend her conquests to India, and through the Indian Ocean, to Africa and the Near East.
3. If we were to stop sending munitions to the
British and the Russians in the Mediterranean and Persian
Gulf areas, we would help the Nazis to overrun Turkey, Syria,
Irak, Persia, Egypt and the Suez Canal, the whole coast of
North Africa and the whole coast of West Africa -- putting
Germany within easy striking distance of South America.

4. If, by such a fatuous policy, we ceased to protect
the North Atlantic supply line to Britain and to Russia, we
would help to cripple the splendid counter-offensive by
Russia against the Nazis, and we would help to deprive
Britain of essential food-supplies and munitions.

Those Americans who believed that we could live under
the illusion of isolationism wanted the American eagle to
imitate the tactics of the ostrich. Now, many of those same
people, afraid that we may be sticking our necks out, want
our national bird to be turned into a turtle. But we prefer
to retain the eagle as it is -- flying high and striking hard.
I know that I speak for the mass of the American people when I say that we reject the turtle policy and will continue increasingly the policy of carrying the war to the enemy in distant lands and distant waters -- as far as possible from our own home grounds.

There are four main lines of communication now being travelled by our ships: the North Atlantic, the South Atlantic, the Indian Ocean and the South Pacific. These routes are not one-way streets -- for the ships which carry our troops and munitions out-bound bring back essential raw materials which we require for our own use.

The maintenance of these vital lines is a very tough job. It is a job which requires tremendous daring, tremendous resourcefulness, and, above all, tremendous production of planes and tanks and guns and of the ships to carry them. And I speak again for the American people when I say that we can and will do that job.
The defense of the world-wide lines of communication demands relatively safe use by us of the sea and of the air along the various routes; and this, in turn, depends upon control by the United Nations of the strategic bases along those routes.

Control of the air involves the simultaneous use of two types of planes — first, the long-range heavy bomber; and, second, light bombers, dive bombers, torpedo planes, and short-range pursuit planes which are essential to the protection of the bases and of the bombers themselves.

Heavy bombers can fly under their own power from here to the southwest Pacific; but the smaller planes cannot. Therefore, these lighter planes have to be packed in crates and sent on board cargo ships. Look at your map again; and you will see that the route is long — and at many places perilous — either across the South Atlantic around South Africa, or from California to the East Indies direct. A vessel can make a round trip by either route in about four months, or only three round trips in a whole year.
In spite of the length and difficulties of this transportation, I can tell you that we already have a large number of bombers and pursuit planes, manned by American pilots, which are now in daily contact with the enemy in the Southwest Pacific. And thousands of American troops are today in that area engaged in operations not only in the air but on the ground as well.

In this battle area, Japan has had an obvious initial advantage. For she could fly even her short-range planes to the points of attack by using many stepping stones open to her -- bases in a multitude of Pacific islands and also bases on the China, Indo-China, Thailand and Malay coasts. Japanese troop transports could go south from Japan and China through the narrow China Sea which can be protected by Japanese planes throughout its whole length.
I ask you to look at your maps again, particularly at that portion of the Pacific Ocean lying west of Hawaii. Before this war even started, the Philippine Islands were already surrounded on three sides by Japanese power. On the west, the Japanese were in possession of the coast of China and the coast of Indo-China which had been yielded to them by the Vichy French. On the North, are the islands of Japan themselves, reaching down almost to northern Luzon. On the east, are the Mandated Islands -- which Japan had occupied exclusively, and had fortified in absolute violation of her written word.

These islands, hundreds of them, appear only as small dots on most maps. But they cover a large strategic area. Guam lies in the middle of them -- a lone outpost which we never fortified.
Under the Washington Treaty of 1921 we had solemnly agreed not to add to the fortification of the Philippine Islands. We had no safe naval base there, so we could not use the islands for extensive naval operations.

Immediately after this war started, the Japanese forces moved down on either side of the Philippines to numerous points south of them -- thereby completely encircling the islands from north, south, east and west.

It is that complete encirclement, with control of the air by Japanese land-based aircraft, which has prevented us from sending substantial reinforcements of men and material to the gallant defenders of the Philippines. For forty years it has always been our strategy -- a strategy born of necessity -- that in the event of a full-scale attack on the Islands by Japan, we should fight a delaying action, attempting to retire slowly into Bataan Peninsula and Corregidor.
We knew that the war as a whole would have to be fought and won by a process of attrition against Japan itself. We knew all along that, with our greater resources, we could outbuild Japan and ultimately overwhelm her on sea, on land and in the air. We knew that, to obtain our objective, many varieties of operations would be necessary in areas other than the Philippines.

Nothing that has occurred in the past two months has caused us to revise this basic strategy -- except that the defense put up by General MacArthur has magnificently exceeded the previous estimates; and he and his men are gaining eternal glory therefor.

MacArthur's army of Filipinos and Americans, and the forces of the United Nations in China, in Burma and the Netherlands East Indies, are all together fulfilling the same essential task. They are making Japan pay an increasingly terrible price for her ambitious attempts to seize control of the whole world. Every Japanese transport sunk off Java is one less transport that they
can use to carry reinforcements to their army opposing General MacArthur in Luzon.

It has been said that Japanese gains in the Philippines were made possible only by the success of their surprise attack on Pearl Harbor. I tell you that this is not so.

Even if the attack had not been made, your map will show that it would have been a hopeless operation for us to send the Fleet to the Philippines through thousands of miles of ocean, while all those island bases were under the sole control of the Japanese.

The consequences of the attack on Pearl Harbor -- serious as they were -- have been wildly exaggerated in other ways. These exaggerations come originally from Axis propagandists; but they have been repeated, I regret to say, by Americans in and out of public life.
You and I have the utmost contempt for Americans who, since Pearl Harbor, have whispered or announced "off the record" that there was no longer any Pacific Fleet - that the Fleet was all sunk or destroyed on December 7th - that more than 1,000 of our planes were destroyed on the ground. They have suggested slyly that the government has withheld the truth about casualties -- that eleven or twelve thousand men were killed at Pearl Harbor instead of the figures as officially announced. They have even served the enemy propagandists by spreading the incredible story that shiploads of bodies of our honored American dead were about to arrive in New York harbor to be put in a common grave.

Almost every Axis broadcast directly quotes Americans who, by speech or in the press, make damnable misstatements such as these.
The American people realize that in many cases details of military operations cannot be disclosed until we are absolutely certain that the announcement will not give to the enemy military information which he does not already possess.

Your government has unmistakeable confidence in your ability to hear the worst, without flinching or losing heart. You must, in turn, have complete confidence that your government is keeping nothing from you except information that will help the enemy in his attempt to destroy us. In a democracy there is always a solemn pact of truth between government and the people; but there must also always be a full use of discretion -- and that word "discretion" applies to the critics of government as well.

This is war. The American people want to know, and will be told, the general trend of how the war is going. But they do not wish to help the enemy any more than our fighting forces do; and they will pay little
attention to the rumor-mongers and poison peddlers in our midst.

To pass from the realm of rumor and poison to the field of facts: the number of our officers and men killed in the attack on Pearl Harbor on December seventh was 2,340, and the number wounded was 946. Of all the combatant ships based on Pearl Harbor -- battleships, heavy cruisers, light cruisers, aircraft carriers, destroyers and submarines -- only three were permanently put out of commission.

Very many of the ships of the Pacific Fleet were not even in Pearl Harbor. Some of those that were there were hit very slightly; and others that were damaged have either rejoined the Fleet by now or are still undergoing repairs. When those repairs are completed, the ships will be more efficient fighting machines than they were before.

The report that we lost more than a thousand airplanes at Pearl Harbor is as baseless as the other weird rumors.
The Japanese do not know just how many planes they destroyed that day, and I am not going to tell them. But I can say that to-date -- and including Pearl Harbor -- we have destroyed considerably more Japanese planes than they have destroyed of ours.

We have most certainly suffered losses -- from Hitler's U-Boats in the Atlantic as well as from the Japanese in the Pacific -- and we shall suffer more of them before the turn of the tide. But, speaking for the United States of America, let me say once and for all to the people of the world: We Americans have been compelled to yield ground, but we will regain it. We and the other United Nations are committed to the destruction of the militarism of Japan and Germany. We are daily increasing our strength. Soon, we and not our enemies, will have the offensive; we, not they, will win the final battles; and we, not they, will make the final peace.
Conquered nations in Europe know what the yoke of the Nazis is like. And the people of Korea and of Manchuria know in their flesh the harsh despotism of Japan. All of the people of Asia know that if there is to be an honorable and decent future for any of them or for us, that future depends on victory by the United Nations over the forces of Axis enslavement.

If a just and durable peace is to be attained, or even if all of us are merely to save our own skins, there is one thought for us here at home to keep uppermost -- the fulfillment of our special task of production, *uninterrupted production*. Stress that.

Germany, Italy and Japan are very close to their maximum output of planes, guns, tanks and ships. The United Nations are not -- especially the United States of America.
Our first job then is to build up production so that the United Nations can maintain control of the seas and attain control of the air -- not merely a slight superiority, but an overwhelming superiority.

On January 6th of this year, I set certain definite goals of production for airplanes, tanks, guns and ships. The Axis propagandists called them fantastic. Tonight, nearly two months later, and after a careful survey of progress by Donald Nelson and others charged with responsibility for our production, I can tell you that those goals will be attained.

In every part of the country, experts in production and the men and women at work in the plants are giving loyal service. With few exceptions, labor, capital and farming realize that this is no time either to make undue profits or to gain special advantages, one over the other.
We are calling for new plants and additions to old plants and for plant conversion to war needs. We are seeking more men and more women to run them. We are working longer hours. We are coming to realize that one extra plane or extra tank or extra gun or extra ship completed tomorrow may, in a few months, turn the tide on some distant battlefield; it may make the difference between life and death for some of our fighting men.

We know now that if we lose this war it will be generations or even centuries before our conception of democracy can live again. And we can lose this war only if we slow up our effort or if we waste our ammunition sniping at each other.

Here are three high purposes for every American:

1. We shall not stop work for a single day. If any dispute arises we shall keep on working while the dispute is solved by mediation, conciliation or arbitration -- until the war is won.
2. We shall not demand special gains or special privileges or advantages for any one group or occupation.

3. We shall give up conveniences and modify the routine of our lives if our country asks us to do so. We will do it cheerfully, remembering that the common enemy seeks to destroy every home and every freedom in every part of our land.

This generation of Americans has come to realize, with a present and personal realization, that there is something larger and more important than the life of any individual or of any individual group -- something for which a man will sacrifice, and gladly sacrifice, not only his pleasures, not only his goods, not only his associations with those he loves, but his life itself.
In time of crisis when the future is in the balance, we come to understand, with full recognition and devotion, what this nation is, and what we owe to it.

The Axis propagandists have tried in various evil ways to destroy our determination and our morale. Failing in that, they are now trying to destroy our confidence in our own allies. They say that the British are finished — that the Russians and the Chinese are about to quit. Patriotic and sensible Americans will reject these absurdities. And instead of listening to any of this crude propaganda, they will recall some of the things that Nazis and Japanese have said and are still saying about us.

Ever since this nation became the arsenal of democracy — ever since enactment of Lend-Lease — there has been one persistent theme through all Axis propaganda.
This theme has been that Americans are admittedly rich, and that Americans have considerable industrial power -- but that Americans are soft and decadent, that they cannot and will not unite and work and fight.

From Berlin, Rome and Tokyo we have been described as a nation of weaklings -- "playboys" -- who would hire British soldiers, or Russian soldiers, or Chinese soldiers to do our fighting for us.

Let them repeat that now!

Let them tell that to General MacArthur and his men.

Let them tell that to the sailors who today are hitting hard in the far waters of the Pacific.

Let them tell that to the boys in the Flying Fortresses.

Let them tell that to the Marines!
The United Nations constitute an association of independent peoples of equal dignity and importance. The United Nations are dedicated to a common cause. We share equally and with equal zeal the anguish and awful sacrifices of war. In the partnership of our common enterprise, we must share in a unified plan in which all of us must play our several parts, each of us being equally indispensable and dependent one on the other.

We have unified command and cooperation and comradeship.

We Americans will contribute unified production and unified acceptance of sacrifice and of effort. That means a national unity that can know no limitations of race or creed or selfish politics. The American people expect that much from themselves. And the American people will find ways and means of expressing their determination to their enemies, including the Japanese Admiral who has said that he will dictate the terms of peace here in the White House.
We of the United Nations are agreed on certain broad principles in the kind of peace we seek. The Atlantic Charter applies not only to the parts of the world that border the Atlantic but to the whole world; disarmament of aggressors, self-determination of nations and peoples, and the four freedoms -- freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom from want, and freedom from fear.

The British and the Russian people have known the full fury of Nazi onslaught. There have been times when the fate of London and Moscow was in serious doubt. But there was never the slightest question that either the British or the Russians would yield. And today all the United Nations salute the superb Russian Army as it celebrates the twenty-fourth anniversary of its first assembly.
Though their homeland was overrun, the Dutch people are still fighting stubbornly and powerfully overseas.

The great Chinese people have suffered grievous losses; Chungking has been almost wiped out of existence -- yet it remains the capital of an unbeatable China.

That is the conquering spirit which prevails throughout the United Nations in this war.

The task that we Americans now face will test us to the uttermost.

Never before have we been called upon for such a prodigious effort. Never before have we had so little time in which to do so much.

"These are the times that try men's souls".

Tom Paine wrote those words on a drum-head, by the light of a campfire. That was when Washington's little army of ragged, rugged men was retreating across New Jersey, having tasted nothing but defeat.
And General Washington ordered that these great words written by Tom Paine be read to the men of every regiment in the Continental Army, and this was the assurance given to the first American armed forces:

"The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will, in this crisis, shrink from the service of their country; but he that stands it now, deserves the love and thanks of man and woman. Tyranny, like hell, is not easily conquered; yet we have this consolation with us, that the harder the sacrifice, the more glorious the triumph".

So spoke Americans in the year 1776.

So speak Americans today!
ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
BROADCAST OVER A
NATIONWIDE AND WORLDWIDE RADIO HOOKUP
ON THE OCCASION
OF THE
210TH ANNIVERSARY OF GEORGE WASHINGTON'S BIRTHDAY
FEBRUARY 23, 1942
AT 10.00 P.M., E.W.T.

BY FELLOW AMERICANS:

Washington's Birthday is a most appropriate occasion for us to
talk with each other about things as they are today and things as we know
they shall be in the future.

For eight years, General Washington and his Continental Army were
faced continually with formidable odds and recurring defeats. Supplies
and equipment were lacking. In a sense, every winter was a Valley Forge.
Throughout the thirteen states there existed fifth columnists -- and self-
fish men, jealous men, fearful men, who proclaimed that Washington's cause
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for all Americans ever since -- a model of moral stamina. He held to his
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the brave men who served with him knew that no man's life or fortune was
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the security of the rights and obligations of liberty and justice every-
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This war is a new kind of war. It is different from all other
wars of the past, not only in its methods and weapons but also in its
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That is the reason why I have asked you to take out and spread before you (the) a map of the whole earth, and to follow with me in the references which I shall make to the world-encircling battle lines of this war. Many questions will, I fear, remain unanswered tonight; but I know you will realize that I cannot cover everything in any one short report to the people.

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We must fight at these vast distances to protect our supply lines and our lines of communication with our allies -- protect these lines from the enemies who are bending every ounce of their strength, striving against time, to cut them. The object of the Nazis and the Japanese is to of course separate the United States, Britain, China and Russia, and to isolate them one from another, so that each will be surrounded and cut off from sources of supplies and reinforcements. It is the old familiar Axis policy of "divide and conquer".

There are those who still think, however, in terms of the days of sailing-ships. They advise us to pull our warships and our planes and
our merchant ships into our own home waters and concentrate solely on last
ditch defense. But let me illustrate what would happen if we followed
such foolish advice.

Look at your map. Look at the vast area of China, with its mil-
ions of fighting men. Look at the vast area of Russia, with its powerful
armies and proven military might. Look at the (British Isles) Islands of
Britain, Australia, New Zealand, the Dutch Indies, India, the Near East
and the Continent of Africa, with their (re) sources of raw materials --
their resources of raw materials, and of peoples determined to resist Axis
domination. Look too at North America, Central America and South America.

It is obvious what would happen if all of these great reservoirs
of power were cut off from each other either by enemy action or by self-
imposed isolation:

(1.) **First, in such a case,** we could no longer send aid of any
kind to China -- to the brave people who, for nearly five years, have with-
stood Japanese assault, destroyed hundreds of thousands of Japanese sol-
diers, and vast quantities of Japanese war munitions. It is essential that
we help China in her magnificent defense and in her inevitable counter-
offensive -- for that is one important element in the ultimate defeat of
Japan.

(2.) **Secondly,** if we lost communication with the southwest Pacific,
all of that area, including Australia and New Zealand and the Dutch Indies,
would fall under Japanese domination. Japan in such a case could (then)
release great numbers of ships and men to launch attacks on a large scale
against the coasts of the Western Hemisphere -- South America and Central
America, and North America -- including Alaska. At the same time, she could
immediately extend her conquests (to) in the other direction toward India,
(and) through the Indian Ocean, to Africa, (and) to the Near East, and try to join forces with Germany and Italy.

(3.) Third, if we were to stop sending munitions to the British and the Russians in the Mediterranean area, (and) in the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea, (areas) we would be helping the Nazis to overrun Turkey, and Syria, and Iraq, and Persia--that is now called Iran -- Egypt and the Suez Canal, the whole coast of North Africa itself and with that inevitably the whole coast of West Africa -- putting Germany within easy striking distance of South America -- fifteen hundred miles away.

(4.) Fourth, if by such a fatuous policy, we ceased to protect the North Atlantic supply line to Britain and to Russia, we would help to cripple the splendid counter-offensive by Russia against the Nazis, and we would help to deprive Britain of essential food-supplies and munitions.

Those Americans who believed that we could live under the illusion of isolationism wanted the American eagle to imitate the tactics of the ostrich. Now, many of those same people, afraid that we may be sticking our necks out, want our national bird to be turned into a turtle. But we prefer to retain the eagle as it is -- flying high and striking hard.

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Control of the air involves the simultaneous use of two types of planes -- first, the long-range heavy bomber; and, second, the light bombers, the dive bombers, the torpedo planes, (and) the short-range pursuit planes, all of which are essential to (the) cooperate with and protect(ion) (of) the bases and (of) the bombers themselves.

Heavy bombers can fly under their own power from here to the southwest Pacific, either way; but the smaller planes cannot. Therefore, these lighter planes have to be packed in crates and sent on board cargo ships. Look at your map again; and you will see that the route is long — and at many places perilous — either across the South Atlantic all the way (a)round South Africa and the Cape of Good Hope, or from California to the East Indies direct. A vessel can make a round trip by either route in about four months, or only three round trips in a whole year.

In spite of the length, (and) in spite of the difficulties of this transportation, I can tell you that in two and a half months we already have a large number of bombers and pursuit planes, manned by American pilots and crews, which are now in daily contact with the enemy in the Southwest Pacific. And thousands of American troops are today in that area
engaged in operations not only in the air but on the ground as well.

In this battle area, Japan has had an obvious initial advantage. For she could fly even her short-range planes to the points of attack by using many stepping stones open to her -- bases in a multitude of Pacific islands and also bases on the China coast, Indo-China coast, and in Thailand and Malaya (coasts). Japanese troop transports could go south from Japan and from China through the narrow China Sea which can be protected by Japanese planes throughout its whole length.

I ask you to look at your maps again, particularly at that portion of the Pacific Ocean lying west of Hawaii. Before this war even started, the Philippine Islands were already surrounded on three sides by Japanese power. On the west, the China side, the Japanese were in possession of the coast of China and the coast of Indo-China which had been yielded to them by the Vichy French. On the North, are the islands of Japan themselves, reaching down almost to northern Luzon. On the east, are the Mandated Islands -- which Japan had occupied exclusively, and had fortified in absolute violation of her written word.

The islands that lie between Hawaii and the Philippines -- these islands, hundreds of them, appear only as small dots on most maps, but do not appear at all. But they cover a large strategic area. Guam lies in the middle of them -- a lone outpost which we have never fortified.

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thereby completely encircling the (Islands) **Philippines** from north, and south, and east and west.

It is that complete encirclement, with control of the air by Japanese land-based aircraft, which has prevented us from sending substantial reinforcements of men and material to the gallant defenders of the Philippines. For forty years it has always been our strategy -- a strategy born of necessity -- that in the event of a full-scale attack on the Islands by Japan, we should fight a delaying action, attempting to retire slowly into Bataan Peninsula and Corregidor.

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The consequences of the attack on Pearl Harbor -- serious as they were -- have been wildly exaggerated in other ways. And these exaggerations come originally from Axis propagandists; but they have been repeated, I regret to say, by Americans in and out of public life.

You and I have the utmost contempt for Americans who, since Pearl Harbor, have whispered or announced "off the record" that there was no longer any Pacific Fleet -- that the Fleet was all sunk or destroyed on December 7th -- that more than (1,000) a thousand of our planes were destroyed on the ground. They have suggested slyly that the Government has withheld the truth about casualties -- that eleven or twelve thousand men were killed at Pearl Harbor instead of the figures as officially announced. They have even served the enemy propagandists by spreading the incredible story that shiploads of bodies of our honored American dead were about to arrive in New York harbor to be put into a common grave.

Almost every Axis broadcast -- Berlin, Rome, Tokyo -- directly quotes Americans who, by speech or in the press, make damnable misstatements such as these.

The American people realize that in many cases details of military operations cannot be disclosed until we are absolutely certain that the announcement will not give to the enemy military information which he does not already possess.
Your Government has unmistakeable confidence in your ability to hear the worst, without flinching or losing heart. You must, in turn, have complete confidence that your Government is keeping nothing from you except information that will help the enemy in his attempt to destroy us. In a democracy there is always a solemn pact of truth between government and the people; but there must also always be a full use of discretion -- and that word "discretion" applies to the critics of government as well.

This is war. The American people want to know, and will be told, the general trend of how the war is going. But they do not wish to help the enemy any more than our fighting forces do; and they will pay little attention to the rumor-mongers and the poison peddlers in our midst.

To pass from the realm of rumor and poison to the field of facts: the number of our officers and men killed in the attack on Pearl Harbor on December seventh was 2,340, and the number wounded was 946. Of all of the combatant ships based on Pearl Harbor -- battleships, heavy cruisers, light cruisers, aircraft carriers, destroyers and submarines -- only three (were) permanently put out of commission.

Very many of the ships of the Pacific Fleet were not even in Pearl Harbor. Some of those that were there were hit very slightly; and others that were damaged have either rejoined the Fleet by now or are still undergoing repairs. And when those repairs are completed, the ships will be more efficient fighting machines than they were before.

The report that we lost more than a thousand (air)planes at Pearl Harbor is as baseless as the other weird rumors. The Japanese do not know just how many planes they destroyed that day, and I am not going to tell them. But I can say that to date -- and including Pearl Harbor -- we have destroyed considerably more Japanese planes than they have destroyed of ours.
We have most certainly suffered losses -- from Hitler's U-Boats in the Atlantic as well as from the Japanese in the Pacific -- and we shall suffer more of them before the turn of the tide. But, speaking for the United States of America, let me say once and for all to the people of the world: We Americans have been compelled to yield ground, but we will regain it. We and the other United Nations are committed to the destruction of the militarism of Japan and Germany. We are daily increasing our strength. Soon, we and not our enemies, will have the offensive; we, not they, will win the final battles; and we, not they, will make the final peace.

Conquered nations in Europe know what the yoke of the Nazis is like. And the people of Korea and of Manchuria know in their flesh the harsh despotism of Japan. All of the people of Asia know that if there is to be an honorable and decent future for any of them or any of [for] us, that future depends on victory by the United Nations over the forces of Axis enslavement.

If a just and durable peace is to be attained, or even if all of us are merely to save our own skins, there is one thought for us here at home to keep uppermost -- the fulfillment of our special task of production -- uninterrupted production. I stress that word "uninterrupted."

Germany, Italy and Japan are very close to their maximum output of planes, guns, tanks and ships. The United Nations are not -- especially the United States of America.

Our first job then is to build up production -- uninterrupted production -- so that the United Nations can maintain control of the seas and attain control of the air -- not merely a slight superiority, but an overwhelming superiority.

On January 6th of this year, I set certain definite goals of
production for airplanes, tanks, guns and ships. The Axis propagandists called them fantastic. Tonight, nearly two months later, and after a careful survey of progress by Donald Nelson and others charged with responsibility for our production, I can tell you that those goals will be attained.

In every part of the country, experts in production and the men and women at work in the plants are giving loyal service. With few exceptions, labor, capital and farming realize that this is no time either to make undue profits or to gain special advantages, one over the other.

We are calling for new plants and additions -- additions to old plants. (and) We are calling for plant conversion to war needs. We are seeking more men and more women to run them. We are working longer hours. We are coming to realize that one extra plane or extra tank or extra gun or extra ship completed tomorrow may, in a few months, turn the tide on some distant battlefield; it may make the difference between life and death for some of our own fighting men. We know now that if we lose this war it will be generations or even centuries before our conception of democracy can live again. And we can lose this war only if we slow up our effort or if we waste our ammunition sniping at each other.

Here are three high purposes for every American:

1. We shall not stop work for a single day. If any dispute arises we shall keep on working while the dispute is solved by mediation, or conciliation or arbitration -- until the war is won.

2. We shall not demand special gains or special privileges or advantages for any one group or occupation.

3. We shall give up conveniences and modify the routine of our lives if our country asks us to do so. We will do it cheerfully, remembering
that the common enemy seeks to destroy every home and every freedom
in every part of our land.

This generation of Americans has come to realize, with a present
and personal realization, that there is something larger and more important
than the life of any individual or of any individual group -- something for
which a man will sacrifice, and gladly sacrifice, not only his pleasures,
not only his goods, not only his associations with those he loves, but
his life itself. In time of crisis when the future is in the balance, we
come to understand, with full recognition and devotion, what this nation
is, and what we owe to it.

The Axis propagandists have tried in various evil ways to destroy
our determination and our morale. Failing in that, they are now trying to
destroy our confidence in our own allies. They say that the British are
finished -- that the Russians and the Chinese are about to quit. Patriotic
and sensible Americans will reject these absurdities. And instead of lis-
tening to any of this crude propaganda, they will recall some of the things
that Nazis and Japanese have said and are still saying about us.

Ever since this nation became the arsenal of democracy -- ever
since enactment of Lend-Lease -- there has been one persistent theme through
all Axis propaganda.

This theme has been that Americans are admittedly rich, (and)
that Americans have considerable industrial power -- but that Americans are
soft and decadent, that they cannot and will not unite and work and fight.

From Berlin, Rome and Tokyo we have been described as a nation
of weaklings -- "playboys" -- who would hire British soldiers, or Russian
soldiers, or Chinese soldiers to do our fighting for us.

Let them repeat that now!
Let them tell that to General MacArthur and his men.
Let them tell that to the sailors who today are hitting hard in
the far waters of the Pacific.
Let them tell that to the boys in the Flying Fortresses.
Let them tell that to the Marines!
The United Nations constitute an association of independent
peoples of equal dignity and **equal** importance. The United Nations are dedi-
cated to a common cause. We share equally and with equal zeal the anguish
and the awful sacrifices of war. In the partnership of our common enter-
prise, we must share in a unified plan in which all of us must play our
several parts, each of us being equally indispensable and dependent one
on the other.

We have unified command and cooperation and comradeship.

We Americans will contribute unified production and unified ac-
ceptance of sacrifice and of effort. That means a national unity that can
know no limitations of race or creed or selfish politics. The American
people expect that much from themselves. And the American people will find
ways and means of expressing their determination to their enemies, including
the Japanese Admiral who has said that he will dictate the terms of peace
here in the White House.

We of the United Nations are agreed on certain broad principles
in the kind of peace we seek. The Atlantic Charter applies not only to
the parts of the world that border the Atlantic but to the whole world; dis-
armament of aggressors, self-determination of nations and peoples, and the
four freedoms -- freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom from want,
and freedom from fear.

The British and the Russian people have known the full fury of
Nazi onslaught. There have been times when the fate of London and Moscow was in serious doubt. But there was never the slightest question that either the British or the Russians would yield. And today all the United Nations salute the superb Russian Army as it celebrates the twenty-fourth anniversary of its first assembly.

Though their homeland was overrun, the Dutch people are still fighting stubbornly and powerfully overseas.

The great Chinese people have suffered grievous losses; Chungking has been almost wiped out of existence -- yet it remains the capital of an unbeatable China.

That is the conquering spirit which prevails throughout the United Nations in this war.

The task that we Americans now face will test us to the uttermost. Never before have we been called upon for such a prodigious effort. Never before have we had so little time in which to do so much.

"These are the times that try men's souls."

Tom Paine wrote those words on a drum-head, by the light of a campfire. That was when Washington's little army of ragged, rugged men was retreating across New Jersey, having tasted (nothing) naught but defeat.

And General Washington ordered that these great words written by Tom Paine be read to the men of every regiment in the Continental Army, and this was the assurance given to the first American armed forces:

"The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will, in this crisis, shrink from the service of their country; but he that stands it now, deserves the love and thanks of man and woman. Tyranny, like hell, is not easily conquered; yet we have this consolation with us, that the harder the sacrifice, the more glorious the triumph."

So spoke Americans in the year 1776.
So speak Americans today!  

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WASHINGTON'S BIRTHDAY IS A MOST APPROPRIATE OCCASION FOR US TO TALK WITH EACH OTHER ABOUT THINGS AS THEY ARE TODAY AND THINGS AS WE KNOW THEY SHALL BE IN THE FUTURE.

FOR EIGHT YEARS, GENERAL WASHINGTON AND HIS CONTINENTAL ARMY WERE Faced CONTINUALLY WITH FORMIDABLE ODDS AND RECURRING DEFECTS. SUPPLIES AND EQUIPMENT WERE LACKING. IN A SENSE, EVERY WINTER WAS A VALLEY FORGE. THROUGHOUT THE THIRTEEN STATES THERE EXISTED FIFTH COLUMNISTS — SELFISH MEN, JEALOUS MEN, FEARFUL MEN, WHO PROCLAIMED THAT WASHINGTON'S CAUSE WAS HOPELESS, THAT HE SHOULD ASK FOR A NEGOTIATED PEACE.

WASHINGTON'S CONDUCT IN THOSE HARD TIMES HAS PROVIDED THE MODEL FOR ALL AMERICANS EVER SINCE — A MODEL OF MORAL STAMINA. HE HELD TO HIS COURSE, AS IT HAD BEEN CHARTED IN THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE. HE AND THE BRAVE MEN WHO SERVED WITH HIM KNEW THAT NO MAN'S LIFE OR FORTUNE WAS SECURE, WITHOUT FREEDOM AND FREE INSTITUTIONS.


THIS WAR IS A NEW KIND OF WAR. IT IS DIFFERENT FROM ALL OTHER WARS OF THE PAST, NOT ONLY IN ITS METHODS AND WEAPONS BUT ALSO IN ITS GEOGRAPHY. IT IS WARFARE IN TERMS OF EVERY CONTINENT, EVERY ISLAND, EVERY SEA, EVERY AIR-LAND IN THE WORLD.

THAT IS THE REASON WHY I HAVE ASKED YOU TO TAKE OUT AND SPREAD BEFORE YOU THE MAP OF THE WHOLE EARTH, AND TO FOLLOW WITH ME THE REFERENCE WHICH I SHALL MAKE TO THE WORLD-ENCIRCLING BATTLE LINES OF THIS WAR. MANY QUESTIONS WILL, I FEAR, REMAIN UNANSWERED; BUT I KNOW YOU WILL REALIZE I CANNOT COVER EVERYTHING IN ANY ONE REPORT TO THE PEOPLE.

THE BROAD OCEANS WHICH HAVE BEEN HERALDED IN THE PAST AS OUR PROTECTION FROM ATTACK HAVE BECOME ENDLESS BATTLEFIELDS ON WHICH WE ARE CONSTANTLY BEING CHALLENGED BY OUR ENEMIES.

WE MUST ALL UNDERSTAND AND FACE THE HARD FACT THAT OUR JOB NOW IS TO FIGHT AT DISTANCES WHICH EXTEND ALL THE WAY AROUND THE GLOBE.

WE FIGHT AT THESE VAST DISTANCES BECAUSE THAT IS WHERE OUR ENEMIES ARE. UNTIL OUR FLOW OF SUPPLIES GIVES US CLEAR SUPERIORITY WE MUST KEEP ON STRIKING OUR ENEMIES WHEREVER AND WHENEVER WE CAN MEET THEM, EVEN IF, FOR A WHILE, WE HAVE TO YIELD GROUND. ACTUALLY WE ARE TAKING A HEAVY TOLL OF THE ENEMY EVERY DAY THAT GOES BY.
We must fight at these vast distances to protect our supply lines and our lines of communication with our allies — protect these lines from the enemies who are banding every ounce of their strength, striving against time, to cut them. The object of the Nazis and the Japanese is to separate the United States, Britain, China and Russia, and to isolate them one from another, so that each will be surrounded and cut off from sources of supplies and reinforcements. It is the old familiar Axis policy of “divide and conquer”.

There are those who still think in terms of the days of sailing-ships. They advise us to pull our war ships and our planes and our merchant ships into our own home waters and concentrate solely on last ditch defense. But let me illustrate what would happen if we followed such foolish advice.

Look at your map. Look at the vast area of China, with its millions of fighting men. Look at the vast area of Russia, with its powerful armies and proven military might. Look at the British Isles, Australia, New Zealand, the Dutch Indies, India, the Near East and the Continent of Africa, with their resources of raw materials and of peoples determined to resist Axis domination. Look at North America, Central America and South America.

It is obvious what would happen if all these great reservoirs of power were cut off from each other either by enemy action or by self-imposed isolation:

1. We could no longer send aid of any kind to China — to the brave people who, for nearly five years, have withstood Japanese assault, destroyed hundreds of thousands of Japanese soldiers, and vast quantities of Japanese war munitions. It is essential that we help China in her magnificent defense and in her inevitable counter-offensive — for that is one important element in the ultimate defeat of Japan.

2. If we lost communication with the southwest Pacific, all of that area, including Australia and New Zealand, would fall under Japanese domination. Japan could then release great numbers of ships and men to launch attacks on a large scale against the coasts of the Western Hemisphere, including Alaska. At the same time, she could immediately extend her conquests to India, and through the Indian Ocean, to Africa and the Near East.

3. If we were to stop sending munitions to the British and the Russians in the Mediterranean and Persian Gulf areas, we would help the Nazis to overrun Turkey, Syria, Iraq, Persia, Egypt and the Suez Canal, the whole coast of North Africa and the whole coast of West Africa — putting Germany within easy striking distance of South America.

4. If, by such a fatuous policy, we ceased to protect the North Atlantic supply line to Britain and to Russia, we would help to cripple the splendid counter-offensive by Russia against the Nazis, and we would help to deprive Britain of essential food-supplies and munitions.

These Americans who believed that we could live under the illusion of isolationism wanted the American eagle to imitate the tactics of the ostrich. Now, many of those same people, afraid that we may be sticking our necks out, want our national bird to be turned into a turtle. But we prefer to retain the eagle as it is — flying high and striking hard.
I know that I speak for the mass of the American people when I say that we reject the turtle policy and will continue increasingly the policy of carrying the war to the enemy in distant lands and distant waters — as far as possible from our own home grounds.

There are four main lines of communication now being travelled by our ships: the North Atlantic, the South Atlantic, the Indian Ocean and the South Pacific. These routes are not one-way streets — for the ships which carry our troops and munitions out-bound bring back essential raw materials which we require for our own use.

The maintenance of these vital lines is a very tough job. It is a job which requires tremendous daring, tremendous resourcefulness, and, above all, tremendous production of planes and tanks and guns and of the ships to carry them. And I speak again for the American people when I say that we can and will do that job.

The defense of the world-wide lines of communication demands relatively safe use by us of the sea and of the air along the various routes; and this, in turn, depends upon control by the United Nations of the strategic bases along those routes.

Control of the air involves the simultaneous use of two types of planes — first, the long-range heavy bomber; and, second, light bombers, dive bombers, torpedo planes, and short-range pursuit planes which are essential to the protection of the bases and of the bombers themselves.

Heavy bombers can fly under their own power from here to the southwest Pacific; but the smaller planes cannot. Therefore, these lighter planes have to be packed in crates and sent on board cargo ships. Look at your map again and you will see that the route is long — and at many places perilous — either across the South Atlantic around South Africa, or from California to the East Indies direct. A vessel can make a round trip by either route in about four months, or only three round trips in a whole year.

In spite of the length and difficulties of this transportation, I can tell you that we already have a large number of bombers and pursuit planes, manned by American pilots, which are now in daily contact with the enemy in the Southwest Pacific. And thousands of American troops are today in that area engaged in operations not only in the air but on the ground as well.

In this battle area, Japan has had an obvious initial advantage. For she could fly over her short-range planes to the points of attack by using many stepping stones open to her — bases in a multitude of Pacific islands and also bases on the China, Indo-China, Thailand and Malay coasts. Japanese troop transports could go south from Japan and China through the narrow China Sea which can be protected by Japanese planes throughout its whole length.

I ask you to look at your maps again, particularly at that portion of the Pacific Ocean lying west of Hawaii. Before this war even started, the Philippine Islands were already surrounded on three sides by Japanese power. On the west, the Japanese were in possession of the coast of China and the coast of Indo-China which had been yielded to them by the Vichy French. On the north, are the islands of Japan themselves, reaching down almost to northern Luzon. On the east, are the Mandated Islands — which Japan had occupied exclusively, and had fortified in absolute violation of her written word.
These islands, hundreds of them, appear only as small dots on most maps. But they cover a large strategic area. Guam lies in the middle of them — a lone outpost which we never fortified.

Under the Washington Treaty of 1921 we had solemnly agreed not to add to the fortification of the Philippine Islands. We had no safe naval base there, so we could not use the islands for extensive naval operations.

Immediately after this war started, the Japanese forces moved down on either side of the Philippines to numerous points south of them — thereby completely encircling the Islands from north, south, east and west.

It is that complete encirclement, with control of the air by Japanese land-based aircraft, which has prevented us from sending substantial reinforcements of men and material to the gallant defenders of the Philippines. For forty years it has always been our strategy — a strategy born of necessity — that in the event of a full-scale attack on the Islands by Japan, we should fight a delaying action, attempting to retire slowly into Bataan Peninsula and Corregidor.

We knew that the war as a whole would have to be fought and won by a process of attrition against Japan itself. We knew all along that, with our greater resources, we could outbuild Japan and ultimately overwhelm her on sea, on land and in the air. We knew that, to obtain our objective, many varieties of operations would be necessary in areas other than the Philippines.

Nothing that has occurred in the past two months has caused us to revise this basic strategy — except that the defense put up by General MacArthur has magnificently exceeded the previous estimates; and he and his men are gaining eternal glory therefore.

MacArthur’s army of Filipinos and Americans, and the forces of the United Nations in China, in Burma and the Netherlands East Indies, are all together fulfilling the same essential task. They are making Japan pay an increasingly terrible price for her ambitious attempts to seize control of the whole Atlantic world. Every Japanese transport sunk off Java is one less transport that they can use to carry reinforcements to their army opposing General MacArthur in Luzon.

It has been said that Japanese gains in the Philippines were made possible only by the success of their surprise attack on Pearl Harbor. I tell you that this is not so.

Even if the attack had not been made, your map will show that it would have been a hopeless operation for us to send the Fleet to the Philippines through thousands of miles of ocean, while all these island bases were under the sole control of the Japanese.

The consequences of the attack on Pearl Harbor — serious as they were — have been wildly exaggerated in other ways. These exaggerations came originally from Axis propagandists; but they have been repeated, I regret to say, by Americans in and out of public life.
You and I have the utmost contempt for Americans who, since Pearl Harbor, have whispered or announced "off the record" that there was no longer any Pacific Fleet -- that the Fleet was all sunk or destroyed on December 7th -- that more than 1,000 of our planes were destroyed on the ground. They have suggested slyly that the government has withheld the truth about casualties -- that eleven or twelve thousand men were killed at Pearl Harbor instead of the figures as officially announced. They have even served the enemy propagandists by spreading the incredible story that shiploads of bodies of our honored American dead were about to arrive in New York harbor to be put in a common grave.

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And General Washington ordered that those great words written by Tom Paine be read to the men of every regiment in the Continental Army, and this was the assurance given to the first American armed forces:

"The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will, in this crisis, shrink from the service of their country; but he that stands it now, deserves the love and thanks of man and woman. Tyranny, like hell, is not easily conquered; yet we have this consolation with us, that the harder the sacrifice, the more glorious the triumph".

So spoke Americans in the year 1776.

So speak Americans today!
The celebration of Washington's Birthday in the midst of our internal military and naval pleasures in this worldwide struggle seems to be a most appropriate occasion for me to talk with each other about things as they are and things as we know they shall be in the future. What made Washington the predominant symbolic figure of his time was not only his leadership, his philosophy, his courage or his pacifism. It was something more important even than these character or moral stamina.

General Washington led our colonies in a war which lasted eight years. During these years his armies were defeated and strategic places were lost, more often than not, in the name of victory or captured by stronger forces. These were indeed times "which tried men's souls."
In those years, the Continental army
was faced continually with formidable
odds. Supplies and equipment were lacking.
In a sense, every winter was a Valley Forge.
Throughout the Thirteen states there existed
a fifth column - writing or unwritten. Selfish
men, jealous men, fearful men, who
proclaimed that Washington's cause was
hopeless, that he must lay down his arms
and ask for a negotiated peace.
Washington's conduct in these hard times
has provided the model for all Americans
ever since. Washington held to his course, as
he had to had been charted in the Declaration
of Independence. Washington and the men
who served with him knew that no man's
life or fortune was secure, or with security,
within the establishment of freedom
and free institutions.

that which was true of the Thirteen colonies
is now true of the forty eight states. It applies
indeed to the whole world. The present great
Struggle has taught us
have come to realize that security of
property or person anywhere in the
world depends upon world-wide
security of the social and international
rights and obligations which we call

Our people have become more and
more aroused as each week has
passed to the grave seriousness of this
threat against our civilization, manner of
life; it is being impaired.

This war is a new kind of war. It is
different from other wars, not only in its
methods and implements but also in its geography. For the speed into it is hard for us who have
been accustomed to localized warfare through the
centuries to visualize what it means
in terms of any continent, any island, every
sea, every air lane in the world.
That is the reason why I have asked you to take out and spread before upon the map of the whole world, and to follow with me the references which I shall make to the far-flung battle lines of this war.

We must understand that our job is to fight at distances which extend half way around the globe. And the reason we have to fight at that distance is to protect our supply lines, our lines of communication, our freedom ability to use the seas, protect them from enemies who are bending every ounce of their strength, striving against time, to cut those lines.

Their object is to drive the United States and Britain and the other fourteen United Nations into such a small area that they would be surrounded and cut off from supplies from their allies.

That is why this war has become essentially a war for strategic points - points which control lines of communication.
between the United Nations. Before the present day of long-range bombing planes and shore-based torpedo planes, it would have been necessary, in any plan to conquer the world, to occupy large territories and to subdue physically huge populations. With modern planes, the world can be conquered by capturing a relatively small number of strategic points upon the world's communication routes and using these points as bases for adequate offensive air power.

There are at present remaining three vital lines of communication between the allied nations, great centers of world power now fighting the axis. These lines are:
- Across the North Atlantic, the South Atlantic and the South Pacific.
- By the North Atlantic route, essential supplies flow to Britain and Russia.
- By the South Atlantic route, essential
Supplies flow to Africa, the Middle East and through the Persian Gulf up to Russia.

By the South Pacific Route supplies go to Australia, New Zealand, the Netherlands Indies and to China.

These routes are not one-way streets. For the very ships which carry our finished goods to the United Nations must also bring back essential raw materials to us.

It is the purpose of Germany and Japan to cut these lines, one by one. It is the job of the armed forces of the United Nations to keep these lines of communication open.

That is the great battle of 1943. It is the battle which will enable us to take the offensive in 1943.

In the North Atlantic the strategic fortress is the British Isles. Newfoundland, Iceland and Greenland are the important stepping stones. On the east the most important essential plumbed is the British Isles. As long as that fortress
stands firm, the North Atlantic route is
secured. The bridge of supply
which was established last year across the
North Atlantic has been almost vital to the
fortification of the British Isles but
has carried a steady stream of supplies and
war materials to Russia by the British
and by ourselves.

The South Atlantic is a long route
extending all the way from our eastern shores
on the South Atlantic route. There
are many strategic places: the Panama
Canal and various key points in the
Caribbean and the Atlantic Islands;
the gulfs of Brazil and Africa; the
tip of South Africa. Beyond that, the
island of Madagascar (now controlled
by Vichy France) is in a position to
dominate communications between the
Atlantic and the Indian Ocean.
The main strategic base on the
South Pacific route is the Hawaiian
All of these islands have been in the hands of Japan for many years, fortified as they are, and the chain of islands leading from there to Australia and New Zealand. The routes around Africa and the route around Australia are long and difficult. They each take four months for a ship to make the round trip. But it is impossible now to use the shorter routes through the Mediterranean and through the Straits at Singapore because they have both been effectively cut by the Axis forces.

I ask you to look at your maps again, particularly at the Pacific Ocean west of Hawaii. See the long stretch of islands running from there to the East Indies near Chittagong in the North Borneo at the north down to the East Indies. They form a strong barrier against preventing direct access from the East to the Philippine Islands and the China Sea. Control of these islands can be achieved only
by greatly superior air and naval power.
The Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor was made for the purpose of depriving us of our margin of superiority in the air and on the sea in the Pacific. In that sense, the Japanese have been successful—temporarily.

The propagandists of the Axis Powers have spread the story through the radio, through newspapers, columnists, and by word of mouth that the reason we had heard anything about our Pacific Fleet was for several weeks after
that the people of this country had not heard from our
Pacific Fleet for several weeks after Pearl Harbor was that there
was no Pacific Fleet — that it had all been sunk or destroyed on
December seventh.

For obvious reasons it was important for many weeks not
to disclose to the Japanese the exact details of our losses, and
the very fact that the Japanese announcement of those losses was
so wholly erroneous is sufficient proof that our decision at the
time was right. To those well-known men who have been spreading
the tale that the American Fleet was destroyed, the following
facts, will be of interest but knowing them I doubt if they will
hang their heads in shame at their own prevarications.

Based on Pearl Harbor on December seventh were the
following ships, class by class:

1. Eight battleships. Of these, one was so
badly damaged through the explosion of her forward
magazine that she may not be worth repairing, though
a final decision has not yet been made. One battleship was
turned on her side in shallow water can be repaired
though the operation will take at least a year. Two
battleships, now undergoing repairs, which will take
many months but will bring them out more
deeper and modern than they were before December 7th.

One battleship whose repairs are nearly finished. The other three battleships in
Pearl Harbor were ready and able to go out
to sea and fight the same day they were
attacked.

[How do the bearers of untruths
square that with their whispering of ill-
omen?]

2. Cruisers. Based on Hawaii on December
seventh were _______cruisers. Of these _____
two were damaged. One of them is in fighting
trim again and the repairs to the other are
nearly completed.

[How does that square with the un-
American falsifications of those I am talking
about?]

It may interest these gentlemen to
know that out of these ______cruisers, ______

were miles away from Pearl Harbor during the
attack, going through their regular drill
and maneuvers.

3. **Destroyers.** Based on Hawaii on December
seventh we had _____ destroyers. Of these
_______, two were so badly hit that it is
doubtful that it will be worthwhile rebuild-
ing them. Most of the others were not even
in Pearl Harbor during the attack.

The Japanese claim they had sunk an
aircraft carrier. No aircraft carrier was
in Pearl Harbor at the time of the attack,
and none were damaged.

4. **Submarines.** I cannot tell you the
exact number of submarines attached to
the Pacific Fleet at the time; but it was
a very large number. None of them **was**
destroyed or seriously damaged at Pearl
Harbor.
The ships I have listed above constitute the fighting ships of the American Pacific Fleet. You can readily see that 80% of them were not only in full commission but were in fighting trim on the afternoon of December seventh—after the attack was all over—but figure out for yourselves just what names to call those so-called Americans who have been whispering to you.

As a part of the same illustration, you are doubtless aware that the same type of person has been seeking to poison you in other ways. They have been spreading the word around that the casualties at Pearl Harbor were not 3,000 but were over 11,000; and in and around New York City thousands of innocent people were led to believe by them that many shiploads of dead bodies were being brought to New York for mass burial in a common pit.

I think that these people will be taken care of by public opinion. I am sorry for their children and their grand children.

The very next day after December seventh, we were officially and legally at war with Japan. The next day, because of their declaration of war against us, we were at war with Germany and Italy.
Since then many things have happened -- some good, but all of them have turned out in accordance with the probability and the normal course of what is inevitably bound to be a long war. But it is also to be inevitably a successful war -- a war of self-preservation for us and the nations fighting with us on one condition -- that the United States give no further heed to the falsifiers in our midst; and, second, that every man and woman that is old enough to work for his or her country redouble their individual personal efforts in producing and manning the implements of war, without which the war cannot be won.

Let us look at the problem -- first, the geography of it and then the implementing of it.

Back in the days when McKinley and Theodore Roosevelt occupied the White House, it is a simple fact that plans were being drawn upon us by Japan, even as plans were drawn for operating in a war or wars against other potential enemies.

At that time it was unanimously agreed that unless the United States, through its people represented in the Congress, were to decide to build great fortifications and huge naval docks
This war is on such a vast scale geographically that the Philippine Islands appear as little dots on the average map of the world. They were completely surrounded, before we got into this war, by Japan and its islands on the north; by Japan and its islands in the Pacific, which lie between the Philippines and us; by Japan on its conquered coast of China and its occupied coast of French Indo-China—three sides of a square. And soon after they started the war they moved around the Philippines on each side and occupied the islands that lie south of them— islands that were a part of the Dutch and British Empires. Thus, the Philippines were almost at once surrounded on all four sides of the square. Great islands that lie between the Philippines and the Continent of Australia have been attacked and many of them have been lost to those nations which are fighting with us, and within eight days the final occupation of the whole Malay Peninsula has been accomplished by the Japanese Army.

I am not going to be indiscreet in disclosing military secrets when I tell you the obvious steps that must be taken, and can be taken, and will be taken to stop the Japanese and start their might rolling in the opposite direction.
It was always obvious that the Philippines were vulnerable, and that in the event of Japanese attack we might have to expect to lose them for a while. The Japanese fleet was within striking distance of the Philippines and thus could transport armies over a short sea route from their own bases and from the bases yielded to them by the Vichy French in Indo-China.

The best that we could hope for in the Philippines was action by our forces there which could cost the Japanese heavily and delay substantial numbers of them from operations elsewhere.

Gen. MacArthur have done better than that.
and yards in the Philippine Islands and on the stepping stones leading thereto, the United States would have to expect to lose the Philippines for a while, in the event the Japanese undertook to occupy them. That was a very simple decision, for the reason that the Japanese Fleet occupying bases in and near Japan would be within striking distance of the Philippines and would be able in a few days to bring armies into the Philippines over a sea route, most of it protected, which totaled only ______ miles. A modern navy is not like an old-fashioned sailing frigate. It cannot go far from its home base without having to take on fuel -- coal in those days and oil today. A modern ship must have repair facilities at a point within short-range distance of an enemy which is going to attack.

Congress after Congress, for forty years, knew this fact and, representing the American people, realized the vulnerability of the Philippines; recognized that they had the right to independence; gave them great assistance in setting up their own education, their own roads and public works; their own Commonwealth Government, and by law agreed to give them full independence in 1946. That has been a bright page in the history of the honor of the American people.
But that same page will record the fact that because of the same honor we will not permanently haul down the American Flag by compulsion of Japan at an earlier date than 1946.

Yes, we may be forced out by overwhelming numbers this year but let it always be remembered that we will not rest until we have hoisted that same old Flag of ours over the Islands again and given independence to the people of the Philippines at the time and in the way we have promised it. All honor to the American and Philippine troops who have put up and are putting up the magnificent resistance in the Bataan Peninsula.

Does any American with red blood in his veins or even a modicum of decency in his soul dare to assert that this government could have sent more succor to those brave men than we have sent? Circumstances of geography — the way God made the world — expressed in terms of the lack of enough ships and enough men have made it impossible to reach the Philippines with sufficient reinforcements to drive out Japanese armies to do any good. I am not a blood-thirsty person, but anyone who says that we could have done the impossible deserves to be delivered up to the Japanese themselves for further treatment.
INSERT FOR RADIO ADDRESS ON FEBRUARY 23RD

Let me say once and for all to the people who dwell
in the Southwestern Pacific area — all the way from the
Philippines and Indo-China on the north, down through
Siam and the Malay States and Singapore and the great
Islands of Sumatra, Java, Borneo, New Guinea and the
thousands of other Islands — we have been compelled to
retire at this time, we who hate the imperialism of
Germany and Italy and Japan are coming back — coming
back with irresistible strength which will give to you
and your children the promise of peaceful lives.

It is pertinent to say to the many races and
religions represented in this vast area — "Would you
and your children prefer to live under justice and
with growing opportunities for prosperity and more and
more self-government, or under the veritable heel of
a nation whose record proves that it throws conquered
peoples into permanent slavery?"

What, for example, has been the fate of the
people who once made up the peaceful Kingdom of Korea?
What, for example, has happened to the people of
"We have been compelled to yield ground, but we will regain it. We are committed to the destruction of militarism in Japan and in Germany. We will not stop short of total destruction of this militarism. The tide will turn. The forces of war have been against us thus far, and they will continue against us until our full strength is mustered. But then, with the tide will turn and it will not be they nor we, they will have the offensive and we will be the defenders. We will write the peace."

Let these words of solemn assurance be heard also by the people of India—by Hindus of Muslims alike—whoir great land may well be threatened by the Japanese from the East and the Nazis from the West. If there is to be an honorable and decent future for any of us, the world over, that future depends entirely in victory over the forces of Axis enslavement.
Millions of human beings in the past have never seen what it is for people to live under the heel of the Japanese conqueror. They have suffered the fate of the peaceful populace who once made up the Kingdom of Korea, and the people of Manchuria, and the people of Holland, and Poland, and Korea. What happened to the people of Blanquilla, enslaved by the Japanese eleven years ago.

No matter how many of these islands, no matter how much mainland Japan may conquer, no matter how many of these peoples may temporarily be enslaved, we shall not stop fighting until they have all been freed and all the last of the Japanese invaders have been driven back.

When we look at these conquered peoples — and when we study the further course of conquest which the Nazis and the Japanese plan to follow — we know that this is all one man and that The
and is all one battlefield.
In one all-important phase of this tremendous struggle, we have already taken the offensive— the battle of production. It is a battle we must win dramatically and without trumpet, in mines and shops and factories all across the land. It is a battle we must win by persevering and sacrificing; a battle in which we must never pause to count the cost— this battle of production on which all our other battles depend.

In that battle this is the crucial spring. A plane now is worth a dozen next year. We cannot wait for a year or two for new weapons. The fighting is going on today. Time’s danger exists today. We must have the fighting equipment today.

Therefore, even in the midst of converting our peace-time factories to armament, even in the midst of retooling our factories for war production we cannot each day make more war materials
than we made the day before.
And for that production we shall need more and more of every kind of raw material — not next summer or next year, but now — to-day: more aluminum, more magnesium, more steel, more chemicals, more copper.
More and more we must deny ourselves the use of these things. More sharply than ever before we must ration ourselves in our daily lives.
No factory has any right to work only 50% of the time. New methods and new techniques must be found to cut delays.
not in the least matter who suggests these new techniques, or where the
suggestions come from: the only consideration is that we must be fertile
of ideas, and that any suggestion which may mean increased output must
get speedy and intelligent consideration.

There are still other ways to boost production now. Here we may
be able to do it by asking ownership to operate beyond the point where diminishing returns set in—that point where greater output means smaller net profit. Here we may be able to do it by asking labor to forego for the duration some hard-won privilege. In such cases we must go boldly for greater volume: we can work out the necessary adjustments for capital and for labor at our leisure. The only limit we can recognize is the absolute physical limit of productive capacity. As long as we remain below that limit we are not doing enough.

While we are doing all of these things, we must of course plan
so that tomorrow's production will exceed today's. Every shop and factory
in America which can possibly make military goods or parts of military
goods, and which is not absolutely needed to keep our civilian economy
alive, must be converted to full military production. Every consideration
which stands in the way of that must be swept aside; every device which will speed that along must be adopted. Every civilian use of a needed material must be stopped if it can possibly be done without wrecking our civilian life.

This cannot be done easily. It will require of all of us great
endurance, great determination, great eagerness to do our very utmost.
Sacrifices will be demanded of capital, of labor and of consumers. Every last one of us will have some part of the price to pay. None of that counts now. We have no time whatever to lose.
The quality of our production and of our entire war effort will depend on the temper of our people. And I am sure that none of us need be doubtful about that. The Axis propagandists have tried to destroy our morale—determination and our morale. Failing in that, they try to destroy our confidence in our allies. At the same time, they are trying to destroy the confidence of the British, the Russians, the Chinese and the Dutch in us. People, they have told the world that Americans could not and would not fight.
Ever since this nation became the
Arsenal of Democracy – even since enactment
of lend-lease – there has been one persistent
theme through all Axis propaganda, 
German and Japanese. Americans
have been told that the United States
is admirably rich, and that
considerable industrial power – but that
Americans cannot and will not fight.

From Berlin, Rome and Tokyo we have
been denigrated as a nation of weaklings –
"playboys" — who would hire others to do
our fighting for us. British soldiers, or
Russian soldiers, or Chinese soldiers to do
our fighting for us.

Let them repeat their lies!
Let them tell that to General MacArthur
and his men.
Let them tell that to the sailors who
sailed from Pearl Harbor to carry the attack
into the Marshall Islands. Americans
Let them tell that to the pilots
in the Frying Pan or in combat over Ramgum.
Let them tell that to the Marines!
Certain

The fighting spirit of America will take the military and march
offensive in this war just as soon as the production lines enable us and our
allies to do so. We do not propose to go on fighting a defensive war for one
day more than we have to. For to win we know that we shall have to strike — to strike
at the enemy wherever he is and wherever we can find him.

We face this war — its problems, its
difficulties, its hardships — with courage
and with confidence but always with
realism.

What has already happened has done
much to destroy the complacency with which
we entered the struggle. But in some
quarters too much complacency remains.
This one thing, to be determined to win. It is
quite another thing merely to feel sure
we shall win. I
The very distance of the battlefields—the very fact which makes our fight so difficult is too apt to create the feeling that the war is really so far away from us here in the United States. We do not sufficiently realize how realistically Singapore was one of the fortresses protecting the Mississippi Valley.

Nor can we ever permit our determination to win to be tempered by undue pessimism as to our ability to win. We must suffer serious handicaps at a number of points. The aggressors, of course, got the initial advantage as they always have and always will. But it is not the first victory in battle that determines the final victory.

The brave United Nations will win this war. For they realize what it means to lose it. For this war is different in its objectives from any previous war in modern history. This war is not being fought for land, or trade or gold alone.
We are not worrying about the ability of Americans to fight. We are not worried about the ability of the Russian, or Russian, or Chinese, or Dutch, or any of the gallant peoples of the conquered countries who are still free to carry on the battle.

What we must and do worry about is, first, the maintenance of our lines of communication throughout the world and, second, the magnitude and the spread of our production.

Our success in both these operations will depend on the numbers of American lives. Every important base that we lose will lengthen the war and will add to the terrible price we must pay in blood and in money.

The first requisite that we need must today, that is that at once and immediately our general must act. Can further need now, in order to prevent further serious losses, is greater and greater air power. And because that
Air power must be placed where it can fight, we need more ships, and we need them now.

We are entering a new phase of this war—a temporary phase, but one which will try us to the uttermost. Never before have the American people been called upon for such a prodigious effort. Never before have we had so little time in which to do so much.

Any American who slackens in this effort—any American who permits his determination to be diluted by doubt and fear—is by his own weakness weakening this nation in the hour of its greatest responsibility.

We know we are going ahead—we know we are going to win this war, and we are going to win it in the streets of Berlin and Tokyo themselves. But the roads that lead to Berlin and Tokyo are long roads and hard roads and we must walk and we must fight every inch of the way.
RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
FEBRUARY 23, 1942

MY FELLOW AMERICANS:

I chose tonight to talk with you for two reasons. First, that the celebration of Washington's Birthday may serve as a reminder to some people that General Washington led our nation in a war which lasted eight years, and during that time was defeated and lost battles and key places more often than he won battles or conquered strongholds. During most of that long period he faced an important minority in each one of the thirteen States that was constantly telling him to seek an honorable peace. His supplies were short and, in a true sense, every Winter was a Valley Forge. He had traitors in his own ranks—not Benedict Arnold alone—but many others whose petty jealousies, whose personal selfishness, whose inability to take punishment and whose back seat driving would have caused a weaker and less honorable man to throw up the sponge in the early part of the Revolutionary War.

The other reason I chose tonight to talk with you is that I have been observing for several weeks—and from vast sources of information—the temper of the American people and their reactions to current events.
First of all, I am definitely certain that the American people have become more and more aroused as each week has passed to the seriousness of the threat against our kind of civilization. They realize that things in our death struggle against Nazism -- and by that I mean the methods and purposes of Germany, Italy and Japan -- have not gone well. The American people do not yet know their geography -- in the sense that they can visualize the problem of our fighting at distances that extend half way round the globe. Nor do they yet wholly understand that it is necessary for the United States to carry on this fighting at great distances in order to prevent the United States and Britain and the other twenty-four United Nations from being driven by their enemies into such a small area that they would be surrounded and cut off piecemeal from great areas necessary to their support and from the power to dominate the oceans and their lines of communications.

That is why I asked the Press and the Radio three days ago to suggest that every family circle and every gathering should have a map of the whole world in front of them, in order more easily to understand references which I shall make to places and especially to distances.
Prior to the treacherous attack on Pearl Harbor, it was a wholly natural thing for Americans in every part of this hemisphere to think of the war as somewhat remote from us -- a war, which by wishful thinking, we hoped we could stay out of. At that time the whole area of the Pacific was at peace; the whole area of the Indian Ocean was at peace and we hoped that we and the British and the Dutch could continue to bring vast supplies of rubber and tin and manganese and other necessities from the areas in the other half of the world.

December seventh changed all that. Most people thought of the treachery of the act, grew quietly and deeply more and more angry and assumed that vengeance would be sure and reasonably swift.

It is in relation to Pearl Harbor that I use the first illustration of deliberate attempts to deceive and disunite this nation by a small minority of citizens who are today doing more deliberate harm to their nation and bringing more danger to their nation than all the alien fifth columnists in this country put together. Typical of these unworthy Americans is the story that has been passed around from mouth to mouth and spoken from the public platforms --
that the reason the people of this country had not heard from our
Pacific Fleet for several weeks after Pearl Harbor was that there
was no Pacific Fleet -- that it had all been sunk or destroyed on
December seventh.

For obvious reasons it was important for many weeks not
to disclose to the Japanese the exact details of our losses and
the very fact that the Japanese announcement of those losses was
so wholly erroneous is sufficient proof that our decision at the
time was right. To those well-known men who have been spreading
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many months but will bring them out more modern than they were before December 7th. One battleship whose repairs are nearly finished. The other three battleships in Pearl Harbor were ready and able to go out to sea and fight the same day they were attacked.

How do the bearers of untruths square that with their whispering of ill-omen?

2. Cruisers. Based on Hawaii on December seventh were ____ cruisers. Of these ___, two were damaged. One of them is in fighting trim again and the repairs to the other are nearly completed.

How does that square with the un-American falsifications of those I am talking about?

It may interest these gentlemen to know that out of these ____ cruisers, ____ were miles away from Pearl Harbor during the
attack, going through their regular drill and maneuvers.

3. Destroyers. Based on Hawaii on December seventh we had _____ destroyers. Of these _____, two were so badly hit that it is doubtful that it will be worthwhile rebuilding them. Most of the others were not even in Pearl Harbor during the attack.

The Japanese claim they had sunk an aircraft carrier. No aircraft carrier was in Pearl Harbor at the time of the attack, and none were damaged.

4. Submarines. I cannot tell you the exact number of submarines attached to the Pacific Fleet at the time but it was a very large number. None of them were destroyed or seriously damaged at Pearl Harbor.
The ships I have listed above constitute the fighting ships of the American Pacific Fleet. You can readily figure that 80% of them were not only in full commission but were in fighting trim on the afternoon of December seventh, after the attack was all over, and figure out for yourselves just what names to call those so-called Americans who have been whispering to you.

As a part of the same illustration, you are doubtless aware that the same type of person has been seeking to poison you in other ways. They have been spreading the word around that the casualties at Pearl Harbor were not 3,000 but were over 11,000; and in and around New York City thousands of innocent people were led to believe by them that many shiploads of dead bodies were being brought to New York for mass burial in a common pit.

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Back in the days when McKinley and Theodore Roosevelt occupied the White House, it is a simple fact that plans were drawn against the possibility of war with Japan, even as plans were drawn for operating in a war or wars against other potential enemies.

At that time it was unanimously agreed that unless the United States, through its people represented in the Congress, were to decide to build great fortifications and huge naval docks
and yards in the Philippine Islands and on the stepping stones leading thereto, the United States would have to expect to lose the Philippines for a while, in the event the Japanese undertook to occupy them. That was a very simple decision, for the reason that the Japanese Fleet occupying bases in and near Japan would be within striking distance of the Philippines and would be able in a few days to bring armies into the Philippines over a sea route, most of it protected, which totaled only_______miles. A modern navy is not like an old-fashioned sailing frigate. It cannot go far from its home base without having to take on fuel -- coal in those days and oil today. A modern ship must have repair facilities at a point within short-range distance of an enemy which is going to attack.

Congress after Congress, for forty years, knew this fact and, representing the American people, realized the vulnerability of the Philippines; recognized that they had the right to independence; gave them great assistance in setting up their own education, their own roads and public works, their own Commonwealth Government, and by law agreed to give them full independence in 1946. That has been a bright page in the history of the honor of the American people.
But that same page will record the fact that because of the same honor we will not permanently haul down the American Flag by compulsion of Japan at an earlier date.

Yes, we may be forced out by overwhelming numbers this year but let it always be remembered that we will not rest until we have hoisted that same old Flag of ours over the Islands again and give independence to the people of the Philippines at the time and in the way we have promised it. All honor to the American and Philippine troops who have put and are putting up the magnificent resistance in the Bataan Peninsula.

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This war is on such a vast scale geographically that the Philippine Islands appear as little dots on the average map of the world. They were completely surrounded, before we got into this war, by Japan and its islands on the north; by Japan and its islands in the Pacific, which lie between the Philippines and us; by Japan on its conquered coast of China and its occupied coast of French Indo-China -- three sides of a square -- and soon after they started the war they moved around the Philippines on each side and occupied the islands that lie south of them -- islands that were a part of the Dutch and British Empires. Thus, the Philippines were almost at once surrounded on all four sides of the square. Great islands that lie between the Philippines and the Continent of Australia have been attacked and many of them have been lost to those nations which are fighting with us, and within eight days the final occupation of the whole Malay Peninsula has been accomplished by the Japanese Army.

I am not going to be indiscreet in disclosing military secrets when I tell you the obvious steps that must be taken, and can be taken, and will be taken to stop the Japanese and start their might rolling in the opposite direction.
You all know by this time that this is essentially a war of munitions -- that each munition is a component part of a whole; that pursuit planes need bomber planes to blast the enemy; that bomber planes need pursuit planes to protect them, going and coming, to the scene of the fight; that both kinds of planes need anti-aircraft guns to protect their bases; that the bases call for ships to protect them against sea attack; that ships are needed to make sea attacks on outlying enemy bases and sea borne enemy transports; that soldiers are needed to hold bases -- military, naval and air -- and that tanks and many other kinds of modern equipment are needed to carry the war into enemy territory.

Australia and New Zealand form a bastion against the continuing Japanese drive from the North; but they also stand firm as jumping-off places when the counter-attack begins, as it inevitably will. They lie far to the south -- ___miles from California, ___miles from New York and ___miles from Japan itself, so that the Japanese line of communication is already becoming over-extended. It will take Japan two weeks to get men or
munitions all the way down there, but it will take us twice as long. We can do it because we have the man-power and the air-power and the sea-power to do it in the long run. That is the key of the Far Eastern situation. It is necessary that even if, unlike the Confederate General, we do not get there "first" with the most men, we will get there in the end with the most men. That is why it has been well said that speed of production on our part is the key of the victorious end of this war. That speed depends on the individual American.
Let me say once and for all to the people who dwell in the Southwestern Pacific area -- all the way from the Philippines and Indo-China on the north, down through Siam and the Malay States and Singapore and the great Islands of Sumatra, Java, Borneo, New Guinea and the thousands of other Islands -- "Rest assured that while through Japanese dishonor we have been compelled to retire at this time, we who hate the imperialism of Germany and Italy and Japan are coming back -- coming back with irresistible strength which will give to you and your children the promise of peaceful lives".

It is pertinent to say to the many races and religions represented in this vast area -- "Would you and your children prefer to live under justice and with growing opportunities for prosperity and more and more self-government, or under the veritable heel of a nation whose record proves that it throws conquered peoples into permanent slavery"?

What, for example, has been the fate of the people who once made up the peaceful Kingdom of Korea? What, for example, has happened to the people of
Manchuria since the Japanese threw them into slavery eleven years ago? What fate would lie in store for the people of China who now live in the Japanese dominated areas in eastern China? What will happen to the inhabitants of Indo-China and Siam and Malaya and Sumatra and Java if Japanese guns and Japanese cruelty and Japanese avarice should hold sway over them in the future"? These questions answer themselves.
There is one other point to note on what might be called the morale front, as opposed to the military front. Prior to our entrance into the war, the Axis propaganda machine fed to their public daily references of disunity in the United States, based on quoted statement by certain Americans at that time in the limelight. The names of these Americans were household heroes in Germany, in Italy, and to a less extend in Japan. You will remember that they represented a small minority in this country but made more noise than the whole of the majority put together.

It is a simple fact that today, more than two months after Pearl Harbor, many of these same individuals are being once more quoted with approval in Berlin, Rome and Tokyo. They may proclaim their patriotism but the fact remains that things they are saying today are once more giving aid and comfort to the enemies of the United States.
ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT  
FEBRUARY 23, 1942

The celebration of Washington's Birthday in the midst of our initial military and naval reverses in this world-wide struggle is a most appropriate occasion for us to talk with each other about things as they are today and things as we know they shall be in the future. What made Washington the predominant, symbolic figure of his time was not only his generalship, his philosophy, his physical courage or his sacrifice. It was something more important even than these. Something which we refer to simply as character — moral stamina.

General Washington led our colonies in a war which lasted eight years. During those years his armies were defeated and strategic positions were lost, more often than he won victories or captured key strongholds. Those were indeed 'times which tried men's souls.' In those years, the continental army was faced continually with formidable odds. Supplies and equipment were lacking. In a sense, every winter was a Valley Forge. Throughout the thirteen states there existed a Fifth Column — witting or unwitting. Selfish men, jealous men, fearful men, who proclaimed that Washington's cause was hopeless, that he must lay down his arms and ask for a negotiated peace.
Washington's conduct in these hard times has provided the model for all Americans ever since. Washington held to his course, as it had been charted in the Declaration of Independence. Washington and the brave men who served with him knew that no man's life or fortune was secure, or worth securing, without the establishment of freedom and free institutions.

That was true of the thirteen colonies, true of the forty-eight states, and to the whole world. The present great struggle has taught us that security of property or person anywhere in the world depends upon world-wide security of the social and international rights and obligations which we call liberty and justice and civilization.

This war is a new kind of war. It is different from all other wars of the past not only in its methods and implements but also in its geography. It is hard for us who have studied or read about localized warfare through the centuries to visualize what it means in terms of every continent, every island, every sea, every air lane in the world.

That is the reason why I have asked you to take out and spread before you the map of the whole world; and to follow with me the references which I shall make to the battle lines of this war. We must all understand that our job now is to fight at distances which extend far around the globe. And the reason we have to fight at these distances is...
protect our supply lines, our lines of communication, our ability to use
the seas — protect them from enemies who are bending every ounce of their
strength, striving against time, to cut those lines. Their object is to
separate the United States, Britain, China and Russia and isolate them one
from another so that each will be surrounded and cut off from sources of
supplies and reinforcements.

That is why this war has become essentially a war for strategic
points — points which control lines of communications between the United
Nations. Before the present day of long-range bombing planes and shore-based
torpedo planes, it would have been necessary, in any plan to conquer the
world, to occupy enormous territories and physically to subdue huge populations.
With modern planes, the world can be conquered by capturing a relatively small
number of strategic points upon the world's communication routes and by using
these points as bases for adequate offensive air power.

There are at present remaining three vital lines of communication
between the United States and the other great centers of world power now fighting
the axis. These lines extend across the North Atlantic, the South Atlantic
and the South Pacific.

By the North Atlantic route essential supplies flow to Britain
and Russia.
By the South Atlantic route, essential supplies flow to Africa, the Middle East and through the Persian Gulf up to Russia, to India to China and to The East Indies. By the South Pacific Route supplies go to Australia, New Zealand, the Netherlands Indies and the South Pacific islands.

These routes are not one-way streets. For the very ships which carry our finished goods to the United Nations must also bring back essential raw materials to us.

It is the purpose of Germany and Japan to cut these lines, one by one. It is the job of the armed forces of the United Nations to keep those lines of communication open. That is the great struggle of 1942 — the battle of the life-lines. It is the battle which will enable us to take the offensive in 1943.

In the North Atlantic, Newfoundland, Greenland and Iceland are the important stepping stones; but the most essential stronghold is the British Isles. As long as that fortress stands firm, the North Atlantic route is secure. The bridge of ships which we established last year across the North Atlantic was not about the fortification of the British Isles but has carried a steady stream of supplies and war materials to Russia by the British and by ourselves.
On the South Atlantic Route there are many strategic places: various key points in the Caribbean; the Atlantic Islands; the bulges of Brazil and Africa; the tip of South Africa. Beyond that, the Island of Madagascar (now controlled by Vichy France) is in a position to dominate communications between the Atlantic and the Indian Ocean.

The main strategic base on the South Pacific route is the Hawaiian Islands and the chain of islands leading from there to Australia and New Zealand.

The route around Africa and the route around Australia are long and difficult. They each require four months for a ship to make the round trip. But it is impossible now to use the shorter routes through the Mediterranean and through the Straits at Singapore, because they have both been effectively cut by the Axis powers.

I ask you to look at your maps again, particularly the Pacific Ocean west of Hawaii. See the line of islands running from Hawaii in Siberia at the North down to the East Indies. All of these islands have been in the hands of Japan for many years. Fortified as they are, they form a strong barrier preventing direct access from America to the Philippine Islands and the China Sea. It is that barrier which has prevented us from sending reinforcements of men and matériel to the gallant defenders of the Philippines.
Central of these islands can be achieved only by greatly superior air and naval power.

The Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor was made for the purpose of depriving us of our margin of superiority in the air and on the sea in the Pacific. In that plan, the Japanese have been successful — temporarily. We must not underestimate the far reaching consequences of their achievement, but we must not exaggerate their effort. The propagandists of the Axis Powers have spread the story through the radio, through newspaper columns, and by word of mouth that the reason no one heard anything about our Pacific Fleet for several weeks after Pearl Harbor was that there was no Pacific Fleet — that it had all been sunk or destroyed on December seventh.

For obvious reasons it was important for many weeks not to disclose to the Japanese the exact details of our losses. The very fact that the Japanese announcement of those losses was so wholly erroneous is sufficient proof that our decision at the time was right. To those who have been spreading the tale that the American Fleet was destroyed, and to the American people as a whole I state the following facts:

Based on Pearl Harbor on December seventh were the following ships, class by class:

1. Eight battleships. Of these, one was so badly damaged through the explosion of her forward magazine that she may not be worth repairing, though final decision as to that has not yet been made.
The Oklahoma

One battleship was turned on her side in shallow water and can be repaired though the operation will take at least a year. Two more battleships are now undergoing repairs, which will take many months but will bring them out more modern than they were before December seventh. One other battleship is now nearly wholly repaired.

The other three battleships in Pearl Harbor were ready and able to go out to sea and fight, the same day they were attacked.

2. Cruisers. Based on Hawaii on December seventh were _______ cruisers. Of these _______ , two were damaged. One of them is already in fighting trim again and the repairs to the other are nearly completed. Out of these _______ cruisers, _______ were miles away from Pearl Harbor during the attack, going through their regular drill and maneuvers.

3. Destroyers. Based on Hawaii on December seventh we had _______ destroyers. Of these _______ , two were so badly hit that it is doubtful that it will be worthwhile rebuilding them. One was damaged and has already been repaired and returned to the Pacific Coast. Most of the others were not even in Pearl Harbor during the attack.
probabilities are in the normal course of what is inevitably bound to be a long war.

Why have the true official figures not been released by our government before this? For the very simple reason that it was information which the enemy did not have and which it wanted very much to have. That is true and will be true of many items of war information. They are kept secret not because your government believes that the people of the United States and their allies will be seriously depressed by bad news -- or made dangerously complacent by good news. Your government has mistakeable confidence in your ability to bear the worst without flinching or losing heart. You must in turn have confidence that your government is keeping nothing from you except information that will help the enemy in his fight upon us. In a democracy there is always a solemn pact of truth between government and the people; but there must also always be a full use of discretion. Without that discretion it is impossible for government to use psychology as an instrument of warfare. The American people are not interested merely in the "war crimes" of newspapers. The fact that the American people have not had all the details of Pearl Harbor has made no difference in their determination to produce what they can and to fight as hard as they can.
It is very easy for a newspaper owner or a commentator
to demand that he be given some piece of news immediately
given to the public. He has a right to say that but the public very well
understands that the newspaper owner or commentator has very little in-
formation and very little knowledge of the reasons that lie behind
official temporary withholding of the information in any given case.

The average American understands and approves the action of his government.
The Japanese claim they had sunk an aircraft carrier.

No aircraft carrier was in Pearl Harbor at the time of the attack, and none was damaged.

4. Submarines. I cannot disclose to you the exact number of submarines attached to the Pacific Fleet at the time; but it was a very large number. None of them was destroyed or seriously damaged at Pearl Harbor.

The ships I have listed above constitute the fighting ships of the American Pacific Fleet. You can readily see that 80% of the fleet was not only in full commission but was actually in fighting trim on the morning of December eighth, when the attack was all over.

The same propagandists have been spreading the word around that the casualties at Pearl Harbor were not 3,000 but were over 11,000; and in and around New York City thousands of innocent people were led to believe by them that shiploads of dead bodies were being brought to New York for mass burial in a common pit. These rumors and many others like them have, of course, been proved as false as the treacherous men who inspired them.

Since December seventh many things have happened -- some good, many bad. Unfortunately most of them have turned out in accordance with
Rumors and gossip are rife in every crisis. In war time they always become worse. Government cannot and will not undertake to answer them all. It should not be necessary to deny them. For war is above all a matter of discipline; and the very essence of democracy is self-discipline.

That is why I urge you all to disregard rumor and gossip, and above all not to spread it — for when you do you are unwittingly serving the Nazi and Japanese enemy.

It was always obvious that the Philippines were vulnerable, and that in the event of Japanese attack we might have to expect to lose them for a while. The Japanese fleet was within striking distance of the Philippines, and thus could transport armies over a short sea route from their own bases and from the bases yielded to them by the Vichy French in Indo-China.

The best that we could hope for in the Philippines was action by our forces there which would cost the Japanese heavily, and would delay substantial numbers of them from operations elsewhere.

General MacArthur and his men have done better than that.
Congress after Congress realized the vulnerability of the Philippines; recognized that they had the right to independence; gave them great assistance in setting up their own Commonwealth Government, their own education, their own roads and public works; and by law agreed to give them full independence in 1946. That has been a bright and honorable page in the history of the American people. We will not permanently haul down the American Flag through compulsion by Japan at an earlier date than 1946.

We may have been forced out by overwhelming numbers this year but we will not rest until we have hoisted that same old Flag of ours over the Islands again and until we have given independence to the people of the Philippines at the time and in the way we have promised it.

Let me say once and for all to the people who dwell in the Southwestern Pacific area — all the way from the Philippines and Indo-China on the north, down through Siam and the Malay States and Singapore and the great Islands of Sumatra, Java, Borneo, New Guinea and the thousands of other Islands. We have been compelled to yield ground, destruction but we will regain it. We are committed to the destruction of militarism in Japan and in Germany. We will not stop short of total destruction of
this militarism. The fortunes of war have been against us thus far, and they will continue against us until our full strength is mustered. But then we not they will have the offensive, we not they will win the final battle and we not they will make the peace."

Let these words of solemn assurance be heard also by the people of India — by Hindus and Moslems alike — whose great land may well be threatened by the Japanese from the East and the Nazis from the West.

If there is to be an honorable and decent future for any of us, the world over, that future depends Entirely in victory of the United Nations over the forces of Axis enslavement.

Millions of human beings in the vast Pacific area, like other millions in Europe, have seen what it is for people to live under the heel of the Japanese and Nazi conquerors. They have watched the fate of the peaceful populace who once made up the Kingdom of Korea, and the people of Manchuria, and the people of Holland, and Poland, and Norway.

When we look at these conquered peoples — and when we study the further course of conquest which the Nazis and the Japanese plan to follow — we know that this all one war and that the world is all one battlefield.

And in that war — throughout the whole battlefield in which it is raging — we are preparing to carry the fight to the enemy. Americans have never been willing, and never will be willing, to fight a defensive
II (cont'd.)

war. We do not propose to remain on the defensive for one day more than is absolutely necessary. We reject the counsel of despair of those who urge us to pull our forces in to our own waters and along our own shores to wait for the attack here. At every outpost on the far flung lines of communication, at every strategic stronghold of war in the world, there lies a part of our defense. To those points of defense we shall send our weapons and our men.

For to win, we know that we shall have to hit and hit hard. We cannot stand still in our corner dodging the blows which come our way. We shall have to carry the attack to the enemy and deliver our blows whenever and wherever we can find him.
Since the fateful day of September 3, 1939 there have been two phases of this war. In the first phase, the British Empire stood almost alone but helped by men and ships of conquered nations and by an increasing supply of munitions from the United States. During this first phase, the opponents of the aggressors were greatly outnumbered and, may well be said, have lived fighting with their backs against the wall.

The second phase commenced when Russia entered the war last June and was fortified when we came in in December. This second phase is still a defensive phase in the sense that in most theaters of war the Axis powers still have a superiority in men and munitions. The exception is the magnificent counter-attack being staged on the Russian-German front, where, in men the Russians have an undoubted superiority and where in munitions and machines they have sufficient volume to overcome vast losses of German planes, tanks and equipment of all kinds.

All of the United Nations are relying on the third phase of the war — the time when on every front the United Nations will have such a clear superiority in men and equipment in munitions that they will be able to wrest control from the enemy and assume the offensive all along the line. Therefore, in order to arrive at this third phase the one all-important phase of this tremendous struggle is the battle of production.
As one all-important phase of this tremendous struggle, we have already taken the offensive — the battle of production. It is a battle we must win undramatically and without trumpets, in mines and shops and factories all across the land. It is a battle we must win by sweating and sacrificing; a battle in which we must never pause to count the cost — this battle of production on the winning of which all our other battles depend.

In that battle this is the "crucial" spring. A plane now is worth a dozen next year. We cannot wait for a year or two for our weapons.

The fighting is going on today.

The Nation's danger exists today.

We must have the fighting equipment today.

Therefore, even in the midst of converting our peace-time factories to arsenals of war, even in the midst of retooling our factories for war production, we must each day make more war materials than we made the day before.

On January 6 of this year I set certain definite goals of production of airplanes, tanks, and merchant ships. The Axis propagandists called them fantastic. Tonight nearly two months later and after a careful survey of progress by Donald Nelson and all others charged with responsibility
for our production, I can tell you that those goals will all be attained and on schedule.

And for that production, we shall need more and more of every kind of raw material — not next summer or next year, but now — today: more aluminum, more magnesium, more steel, more chemicals, more copper. More and more, we must deny ourselves the use of these things. More sharply than ever before we must ration ourselves in our daily lives.
The celebration of Washington's Birthday in the midst of our initial military and naval reverses in this world-wide struggle is a most appropriate occasion for us to talk with each other about things as they are today and things as we know they shall be in the future. What made Washington the predominant, symbolic figure of his time was not only his generalship, his philosophy, his physical courage or his devotion to the great cause he served, but something more important even than these — something which we refer to simply as character — moral stamina.

General Washington led our colonies in a war which lasted eight years. [During those years his armies were defeated and strategic positions were lost; more often than he won victories or captured key strongholds.]

In those years, the continental army was faced continually with formidable odds. Supplies and equipment were lacking. In a sense, every winter was a Valley Forge. Throughout the thirteen states there existed fifth columnists — witting or unwitting — selfish men, jealous men, fearful men, who proclaimed that Washington's cause was hopeless, that he
lay down his arms and ask for a negotiated peace.

Washington's conduct in these hard times has provided the model for all Americans ever since. Washington held to his course, as it had been charted in the Declaration of Independence. Washington and the brave men who served with him knew that no man's life or fortune was secure, or worth securing, without the establishment of freedom and free institutions.

That was true of the thirteen colonies. It became true of the forty-eight states. In later years huge armaments and swift communications have made it apply more and more to the whole world. The present great struggle has taught us that freedom of person and security of property anywhere in the world depend upon world-wide security of the social and international rights and obligations which we call liberty and justice and civilization.

This war is a new kind of war. It is different from all other wars of the past not only in its methods and implements but also in its geography. It is hard for us who have studied or read about localized warfare through the centuries to visualize what it means in terms of every continent, every island, every sea, every air lane in the world.
That is the reason why I have asked you to take out and spread before you the map of the whole earth; and to follow with me the references which I shall make to the world encircling battle lines of this war. We must all understand that our job now is to fight at distances which extend all the way around the globe. And the reason we have to fight at such distances is that we must protect our supply lines, our lines of communication, our ability to use the seas -- protect them from enemies who are bending every ounce of their strength, striving against time, to cut those lines. Their object is to separate the United States, Britain, China and Russia, and isolate them one from another so that each will be surrounded and cut off from sources of supplies and reinforcements.

Separating the United Nations from each other, of course, the Axis policy of "divide and conquer". There are those who still cling to the sailing-ship days' belief that we should pull our war ships and our merchant ships into the western Atlantic and the American side of the Pacific, let me illustrate what happens if we followed such foolish advice.
Those broad oceans which have been heretofore the past as our protection from attack have become the almost endless battlefields on which we ourselves must be ready to fight and accordingly being challenged by our enemies.
1. We could no longer send aid of any kind to China — to
the brave people who, for nearly five years, have withstood Japanese
assault, destroyed hundreds of thousands of Japanese soldiers, and vast
quantities of Japanese war munitions. Even if we are thinking only of
our own selfish point of view, we must help China in her magnificent
defense and in her inevitable counter offense when it comes.

2. The whole of the southwest Pacific, including Australia,
New Zealand, the Malay Peninsula, and Burma would probably fall under
Japanese domination. Japan could thereby release hundreds of ships and
hundreds of thousands of men to launch attacks on a large scale against
the coasts of North, Central and South America, including Alaska, and
at the same time, extend her conquests to India and through the Indian
Ocean to Africa and the Near East. A glance at your map will show you this
be done.

3. If by pulling our heads within our own shells we are
compelled to stop sending munitions to the British and the Russians in
the Mediterranean and Persian Gulf areas, we will help the Nazis to overrun
Turkey, Syria, Iran, Persia, Egypt and the Sues Canal, the whole coast of
North Africa and the whole coast of West Africa — putting Germany within
easy striking distance of South America.
4. If by a fatuous policy advocated by a few, we cease to protect the North Atlantic supply line to Britain and to Russia, we help to cripple the splendid comeback by Russia against the Nazis, and we help to deprive Britain of essential food-supplies and munitions. And anyone who thinks the American people would favor such a policy as that is not a very keen student of public opinion.

The maintenance of lines of communications between the United Nations is vital.

There are four main lines of communication now being travelled by our ships: the North Atlantic, the South Atlantic, the Indian Ocean and the South Pacific. These routes are not one-way streets — for the ships which carry our goods to our allies bring back essential raw materials which we require for our own use.

The defense of these lines requires control of the sea and of the air along the various routes; and this depends upon control of the strategic bases. Control of the air involves the simultaneous use of two types of planes — the long range heavy bomber and the lighter and shorter-range pursuit planes, which are essential to the protection of the bases and the bombers themselves.
When we were trying to live under the illusion of isolationism, it appeared that the American eagle was beginning to resemble an ostrich. Now, some people, afraid that we may be sticking our necks out, want our national bird to be turned into a turtle. But we prefer to retain the eagle as it is flying high and striking hard.

I know that I speak for all of the people when I say that we will continue increasingly the policy of carrying the war to the enemy in distant lands and distant waters — as far as possible from our own home grounds.

Bombers can fly under their own power from here to the southwest Pacific; but pursuit planes can range only a few hundred miles. Therefore, pursuit planes have to be sent to the southwest Pacific in crates on board freight steamers. To send freight steamers through either the Atlantic route or the Pacific route to the southwest Pacific is an operation of many weeks under convoy, so that a vessel [or a group of vessels] can make a complete round trip in about four months, or, in other words, three round trips in a whole year. The route to the southwest Pacific from New York round the Cape of Good Hope is about the same distance and takes about the same amount of time as the route from San Francisco to the south Pacific direct.

Although we have been in the war for only two months and a half, we already have a very large number of bombers and pursuit
planes, flown by American pilots, which are in daily contact with the enemy in the Netherlands Indies themselves. Every plane needs an average of ten men on the ground at some base for its continued operation. And I can tell you that therefore thousands of Americans are today in the southwest Pacific engaged in charge of ground operations, including the operation of anti-aircraft guns.

I ask you to look at your maps again, particularly at that portion of the Pacific Ocean lying west of Hawaii. Before this war even started the Philippine Islands were surrounded on three sides by Japan. The Japanese were in possession of the coast of China and the coast of Indo-China yielded to them by the Vichy French. On the north lay the islands of Japan themselves, reaching down almost to northern Luzon. On the east the Philippines, which had been occupied exclusively and fortified by Japan in violation of her written word. Immediately after this war started, the Japanese forces moved down on either side of the Philippines to numerous points south of them — thereby completely encircling the Philippine Islands from all four directions — north, south, east and west.
It is that complete barrier which has prevented us from
sending reinforcements of men and material to the gallant defenders
of Bataan Peninsula. While this may have shocked many Americans
the fact is that for many years it has been obvious to our military and naval
experts that in the event of war with Japan we could not retain military
or naval control of the Islands.

During this whole time we have figured that in the event of
a full-scale attack on the Islands by
Japan, we would fight a delaying action with American and
Filipino forces, retreating slowly into Bataan Peninsula and Corregidor.

We knew that, given as a whole, it would have to be fought and won
and that the war would eventually be won by a process of attrition
against Japan itself. Nothing that has occurred in the past two months
has caused us to revise this basic strategy — except that
changes in the least bit the soundness of those obvious plans. As a
matter of simple fact, the defense put up by General MacArthur has
disobediently exceeded the previous estimates, and he and his men
deserve eternal glory and credit therefor.

It has been said that Japanese gains in the Philippines were
made possible by the success of their surprise attack on Pearl Harbor.

Categorically and simply, I tell you that this is not so.

When I spoke to the American people
last May, I said that our Bunker Hill of
tomorrow may be thousands of miles from Boston.
We now know that our modern Bunker Hill is
Bataan Peninsula.
Even if the attack had not been made, we could not have
have been folly to send
the fleet to the Philippines through thousands of miles of ocean
where all the bases were under the control of the Japanese.

The consequences of the attack on Pearl Harbor have been
wildly
fantastically exaggerated in other ways. These exaggerations come from
Axis propagandists and are repeated, I regret to say, by Americans in and
out of public life. They are spread through conversation, speeches, the
radio and the press — and always with the assurance that they come from
what they call "undisclosed authoritative sources." It has been said that the
reason no one heard anything about our Pacific Fleet for several weeks
after Pearl Harbor was that there was no Pacific Fleet — that it had all
been sunk or destroyed on December 7th.

It has even been said that not 3,000 men were killed and
wounded there, but 11,000 or 12,000 men. Some of them have gone on to say
that several boat-loads of bodies of the dead were due to arrive in New York
buried in a large common grave.

For obvious reasons it was important for many weeks not to
disclose to the Japanese the exact details of our losses. The very fact that
the Japanese announcement of those losses was so wholly erroneous is suffi-
cient proof that our decision at the time was right. To those who have
been spreading the tale that the American Fleet was destroyed, and to the
American people as a whole I state the following facts: The casualty lists
show that 3,000 officers and men were killed or wounded there.

The number of officers and men killed at
Pearl Harbor was... You can be absolutely sure that all
statements of casualties by your Army and Navy are correct and
complete.
At 7.50 in the morning of December seventh there were
based on Pearl Harbor combatant ships. A relatively
csmall number of them were in Pearl Harbor; and the great
majority of them were at sea or in or near various parts of
the Hawaiian Islands. Of this total of combatant ships,
battleships, heavy cruisers, light cruisers, aircraft carriers, destroyers and submarines, only
were unable to proceed to sea and fight, or to stay at sea
and fight, at 11 o'clock on the morning of December seventh,
after the attack had been ended. In other words, %
of the combat ships of the Pacific Fleet were still in
fighting trim and % had been damaged, put out of
commission, temporarily or permanently.
Of these damaged ships, a goodly number are back
in full commission and are operating against the enemy.

Another goodly number of them are under repair; and it
now seems probable that of all the ships damaged, only
three of them are beyond repair.

[ I can, without disclosing names of ships, point
out that the total loss will probably involve only one
ship; and that the other ships which were damaged are
either finishing their repairs or will be completely ready
in a relatively short time.]
So much for those false Americans who spread false news.
Why have the true official figures not been revealed by our government before this? For the very simple reason that it was information which the enemy did not have, and which it wanted very much to have. That is true and will be true of many items of war information. They are kept secret not because your government believes that the people of the United States and their allies will be seriously depressed by bad news — or made dangerously complacent by good news. Your government has mistakeable confidence in your ability to bear the worst without flinching or losing heart. You must in turn have confidence that your government is keeping nothing from you except information that will help the enemy in his attempt to destroy us. In a democracy there is always a solemn pact of truth between government and the people; but there must also always be a full use of discretion.

It is very easy [for a newspaper owner or a commentator] to demand that some piece of news be immediately given to the public. But the public very well understands [that the newspaper owner or commentator has very little knowledge of the reasons that lie behind temporary official withholding of the information in any given case. The average American understands and approves the action of his government. The fact that the American people have not had all the details of Pearl Harbor has made no difference in their determination to produce what they can and to fight as hard as they can.
Rumors and gossip are rife in every crisis. In war time
they always become worse. Government cannot and will not undertake to
deny them all. It seems not to be necessary to deny them; for war is
above all a matter of discipline; and the very essence of democracy is
self-discipline. That is why I urge you all to disregard rumor and gossip
and amateur comments, and above all not to spread them — for when you
do you are unwittingly serving the Nazi and Japanese enemy.

Let me say once and for all to the people who dwell in
the Southwestern Pacific area — all the way from the Philippines and

Let me say once and for all to the people who dwell in
the Southwestern Pacific area — all the way from the Philippines and
Indo-China on the north, down through Siam and the Malay States and
Singapore and the great Islands of Sumatra, Java, Borneo, New Guinea
— let me say this:
and the thousands of other Islands. We have been compelled to yield
ground, but we will regain it. We are committed to the destruction of
militarism in Japan and in Germany. We will not stop short of total
destruction of this militarism. The fortunes of war have been against
us thus far, and they will continue against us until our full strength
is mustered. But when we are ready, they will have the offensive; we are
will win the final battle and we must make the peace.
I suggest that when you hear any rumor of some hidden disaster, you should ask your informant to prove his statement. If he mentions some "authority" as his source, insist that he name this "authority" publicly, so that this so-called "authority" shall have a chance to speak up for himself.

Discarding rumors, however, and concentrating on the official reports, we still find very little to cheer about in the present grim situation. We have suffered grievous defeats and we shall suffer more of them before the inevitable turn of the tide.
Let these words of solemn assurance be heard also by the people of India — by Hindus and Moslems alike — whose great land may well be threatened by the Japanese from the East and the Nazis from the West. If there is to be an honorable and decent future for any of us, the world over, that future depends entirely on victory of the United Nations over the forces of Axis enslavement.

Millions of human beings in the vast Pacific area, like other millions in Europe, have seen what it is for people to live under the heel of the Japanese and Nazi conquerors. They have watched the fate of the peaceful populace who once made up the Kingdom of Korea, and the people of Manchuria, and the people of Holland, and Poland, and Norway.

When we look at the conquered peoples — and when we study the further course of conquest which the Nazis and the Japanese plan to follow — we know that this is all one war and that the world is all one battlefield.

And in that war — throughout the whole battlefield in which it is raging — we are preparing to carry the fight to the enemy. Americans have never been willing, and never will be willing, to fight a defensive war. We do not propose to remain on the defensive for one day more than is absolutely necessary. We reject the counsel of despair of those who urge us to pull our forces in to our own waters and along our
own shores to wait for the attack here. At every outpost on the far-flung lines of communication, at every strategic stronghold of war in the world, there lies a part of our defense. To those points of defense we shall send our weapons and our men. For to win, we know that we shall have to hit and hit hard. We cannot stand still in our corner dodging the blows which come our way. We shall have to carry the attack to the enemy and strike deliver our blows whenever and wherever we can find him.

Since the fateful day when France fell in 1940, there have been two definite phases of this war.

In the first phase, the British Empire stood almost alone — but helped by the men and ships of conquered nations and by an increasing supply of munitions from the United States. The opponents of the aggressors were greatly outnumbered and were literally fighting with their backs against the wall.

The second phase commenced when Russia entered the war last June and was intensifi ed in last December. This second phase is still a defensive phase — for in most theatres of the war the Axis powers still have a superiority in trained men and in munitions. The exception is the magnificent counter-attack now being staged on the Russian-German front. Thanks the Russians have an undoubted superiority; and in
munitions and machines they have sufficient volume to inflict vast
on
German planes, tanks and equipment of all kinds.

All of the United Nations are now confidently relying
on the third phase of the war — the time when on every front, not the
Russian alone, the United Nations will have such a clear superiority in
trained men and in munitions, that they will be able to [wrest control from
the enemy and assume the offensive all along the line.

Therefore, in order to arrive at this third phase, the
one all-important [present] part of this tremendous struggle is the battle
of production. It is a battle we must win undramatically and without
trumpets, in mines and shops and factories all across the land. It is a
battle we must win by sweating and sacrificing; a battle in which we must
never pause to count the cost — this battle of production on the winning
of which all our other battles depend.

In that battle this is the "crucial" spring. A plane
now is worth a dozen next year. We cannot wait for a year or two for our
weapons.

[The fighting is going on today.

The Nation's danger exists today.

We must have the fighting equipment today]
In that battle huge additional production next year is vital. But increased production tomorrow and the next day and next day and next month are at least equally vital.

For situations may well arise today and tomorrow I can conceive of a situation in air fighting where two planes instead of one might save the day on a broad front -- where one extra anti-aircraft gun with a couple of lucky hits might stop a bombing raid; where one tank in the right place at the right moment might save a desert campaign; where one ship might save a whole convoy.

In the battle of production, this is the crucial spring.
Therefore, even in the midst of converting our peace-time factories to arsenals of war, even in the midst of retooling our factories for war production, we must each day make/war materials than we made the day before.

On January 6th of this year I set certain definite goals of production of airplanes, tanks, and merchant ships. The Axis propagandists called them fantastic. Tonight nearly two months later and after a careful survey of progress by Donald Nelson and all others charged with responsibility for our production, I can tell you that those goals will all be attained — and on schedule.

And for that production, we shall need more and more of every kind of raw material — not next summer or next year, but now — today: more aluminum, more magnesium, more steel, more chemicals, more copper.

More and more, we must deny ourselves the use of these things. More sharply than ever before we must ration ourselves in our daily lives.
I can give you a very simple example
The many ways in which the individual can contribute.

The American people spend more than two billion dollars a year on automobile maintenance. That includes all servicing and repairs on private cars and trucks of all kinds.

You can help to save the materials and the skilled labor needed for this maintenance. When you make purchases at stores, carry them home yourself if you possibly can. That saves delivery. If you own a car, drive it sparingly possible and avoid speeding. That adds to the life of the car and the tires and reduces the need for servicing and repairs.

By reducing our annual expenditure for maintenance by only twenty-five per cent, we can release enough skilled labor and materials to build 10,000 tanks for our fighting forces.
No factory has any right to work only 50% of the time. New methods and new techniques must be found to cut delays. There are still other ways to boost production now. At one point, we may be able to do it by asking ownership to operate beyond the point where diminishing returns set in—that point where greater output means smaller net profit. At another point, we may be able to do it by asking labor to forego for the duration some hard-won privilege. In such cases, we must go boldly for greater volume; we can work out the necessary adjustments for capital and for labor at our leisure. The only limit we can recognize now is the absolute physical limit of productive capacity. As long as we remain below that limit, we are not doing enough.

While we are doing all of these things, we must of course plan so that tomorrow's production will exceed today's. Every shop and factory in America which can possibly make military goods or parts of military goods, and which is not absolutely needed to keep our civilian economy alive, must be converted to full military production. Every consideration which stands in the way of that must be swept aside; every device which will speed that along must be adopted. Every civilian use of a needed material must be stopped if it can possibly be done without wrecking our civilian life.
This cannot be done easily. It will require of all of us great endurance, great determination, great eagerness to do our very utmost. Sacrifices will be demanded of capital, of labor and of consumers. Every last one of us will have some part of the price to pay. None of that counts now. We have no time whatever to lose.

For production is not a matter merely of voting money or placing orders or drawing blueprints. It means individual work and effort and sacrifice for you and me and all other loyal Americans.

The quality of our production and of our entire war effort will depend on the true temper of our people. And I can say that none of us need be doubtful about that.

The Axis propagandists have tried and are still trying to destroy our determination and our morale. Failing in that, they try to destroy our confidence in our allies. At the same time, they are trying to destroy the confidence of the British, the Russians, the Chinese and the Dutch in us.

Ever since this nation became the arsenal of democracy — ever since enactment of lend-lease — there has been one persistent theme through all Axis propaganda — German and Japanese.

The theme has been that Americans/admittedly rich, and that Americans are soft and decadent, have considerable industrial power — but that Americans cannot and will not fight.
From Berlin, Rome and Tokyo we have been described as a nation of weaklings -- "playboys" -- who would hire British soldiers, or Russian soldiers, or Chinese soldiers to do our fighting for us.

Let them repeat that now!

Let them tell that to General MacArthur and his men.

Let them tell that to the sailors who rallied from Pearl Harbor to carry the attack into the Marshall Islands.

Let them tell that to the boys in the Flying Fortresses in combat over Tokyo.

Let them tell that to the Marines!

for many years we have tried to prevent this war. We did our very best to avoid getting into the fight. We were put into the fight by our enemies, and we have gone in fighting. But now that we are in, we are in to the finish and it will be a knock-out finish. [For Nazism and Fascism wherever it has raised its ugly standards of slavery must be put out of business].

[Signature]
It is true that in certain areas such as the southwest Pacific we are, at this time, waging a defensive campaign. But at the same time, we are slowly but surely building up our forces, we are taking a much greater toll of ships and men and planes of the enemy than they are taking of ours. It is approximately conservative to say that American planes manned by American pilots have brought down three or four times as many Japanese planes as they have lost themselves. That is an excellent example of how attrition will work in the long run because any child knows that the total monthly output of Japanese planes is even today vastly slower than the American output of planes which are being assigned to the southwest Pacific area.
Our airmen, in their first experience in actual contact, have knocked down at least four Japanese planes for every one of our own that has been lost. This rate will be continued and increased until there isn't any Japanese air force left. It is an established fact and the Japanese know it. And they also know how their rate of airplane production compares with ours. That is why they're in such a tremendous hurry to win this war this year, despite us of all possible bases from which our planes can operate.
The great fijor of the United Nations today is to defend existing bases — and the great fijor of tomorrow is to regain the bases we have already lost and to gain new bases from which to launch the offensive.
The spirit in which all the United Nations are fighting this war is one of complete co-operation and comradeship. Unified command and unified striking forces - these are the symbols which speak loud of a mighty determination to win through to the end.

Here take in B on p. 23 and C on p. 24.
As quickly as we assemble sufficient strength at any strategic point — whether in Europe or Africa or Asia — we must use that strength aggressively to strike the enemy.

We must exploit each situation to the utmost. We must use the best command available in each area. The spirit in which the United Nations are fighting this war was splendidly demonstrated in the Netherlands Indies area when our own Admiral Hart yielded the naval command to the Hollander Admiral Helfrich, who knows every current and eddy of the waters around those islands. Today American, British and Dutch naval units are serving under Admiral Helfrich and they are making the Japanese pay an enormous price for their gains.

Ultimately our forces will be fighting together with the Chinese in the drive which will go straight through to Tokyo. And I should like particularly to call that promise to the attention of the Japanese Admiral who has announced that he will dictate the terms of peace here in the White House.

Inset D

We have great allies in this war, and the greatest strength of all of them has been their ability to rally from defeat. The British and the Russian people have known the full fury of Hitler's onslaught.
There have been times when the fate of both London and Moscow was in serious
doubt. But there was never the slightest question that either the British
or the Russians would yield, no matter how great the suffering imposed upon
them. And when the day of retribution comes, the British and Russian armies
and air forces will dispose of German militarism once and for all.

The collaboration of the United Nations is vital to the
winning of this war, and it is vital to the security of the peaceful world
in which our children are to live and grow and prosper.

The shape of the future always is suggested by the action
of today. But an action taken today does not limit the future. The agree-
ment reached in the first Atlantic Meeting with Prime Minister Churchill
laid down certain broad principles for peace. That Agreement has been
called the Atlantic Charter, but no one should assume that its principles
apply only to the parts of the world that border the Atlantic. They are
principles on which the well-being of all the families of peoples every-
where depends.

Not only that, but the promise in this agreement belongs
to the oppressed people everywhere, to those under the yoke of the Nazis
in Europe, and to those like the Koreans and the Chinese of Manchuria, who
know in their flesh the harsh despotism of Japan.
The promise is given too, with full thought to the peoples whose
governments have been directed by members of the United Nations. For the
victory will be won for freedom, but it will not be victory. It is not
for you and me to propose all the precise ways and means by which these
freedoms shall be obtained in every part of the world, but it is for us to
say that must be obtained. It is only for the broadest goal that
American men will lay down their lives. We know that we fight, first and
last, for our own preservation. But we know, too, that we are not to be
preserved in a world any part of which is shut off from the free civilization
which alone makes for enduring peace.

Since the United States entry into the war, very far-reaching
agreements have been made for pooling resources with those united in fighting
the aggressors. Two nations possessing a great and expanding
industrial capacity and owning the shipping which must distribute the
munitions of war, are the United States and Great Britain. So, a beginning
in pooling has been made first by these two governments. But this essential
step in organizing an effective use of our joint resources does not fix,
and was not intended to fix, the future control of international effort.
Sooner or later the Axis powers had to attack us because as long as we were free and
peaceful we stood in the way of their dream of world domination — the subjugation of mankind
by the so-called two master races of the earth. For
clear it is that this is not merely a war for
colonies, or gold, or land, or trade. It is a
war for human souls — to enslave the human
beings of the world and to make them all
work for the oppressors, think, speak and
pray only for the war lords of the earth —
not educate.

The United Nations fights for
self preservation — but fights for more.
For the free man — manlike animals —
limits beyond his own body: the line and
fights and, if need be, dies to preserve a
life that is not of the body alone. We are
fighting not only military might but those
and the rest of civilization.

to maintain

ideas which make the dictators seem to
destroy us, and we are fighting for the
ideals which will in the end destroy the
dictators and all their hideous doctrines.

We are all dedicated to the preservation

Even if we destroy the
military power of Germany and Japan, we
place have arisen in vain unless we
establish everywhere in the world the
freedoms which spring from a true conception of
the dignity and integrity of the individual
man and woman. From concept of human
beings not as soulless slaves of the state but as
the masters of the state created to serve the
well-being of the people themselves. So to
fashion government that it efficiently and
honorably serves its people has been and must be
the challenge to the world of the future. When we
speak of freedom, liberty, democracy we speak of
the system of government which recognizes the
dignity of the individual - which recognizes the all
important fact that the individual is greater than the state.
Far from being the foundation of an Anglo-American hierarchy, it is the organization for victory for the United Nations. The victory finally will be won by all the United Nations, by their men and their heroic human sacrifices, still more than by the equipment now so much needed from American and British factories.

In the community of sacrifice we establish a comradeship which can know no limitations of race or creed or politics. And from that community there can and will develop a better, freer, fairer world.

We look forward to that world with hope and confidence. We know that the road which leads to that world is long and hard and we must work and fight every inch of the way. But work and fight we shall, and we shall not be stopped from moving steadily forward.

The task which we now confront: We are now entering a new phase of this war—a temporary phase, but one which will test us to the uttermost. Never before have we been called upon for such a prodigious effort. Never before have we had so little time in which to do so much.

"These are the times that try men's souls."

Tom Paine wrote those words on a drum-head, by the light of a campfire. That was when Washington's little army was retreating across New Jersey, having tasted nothing but defeat. But Washington ordered that
the words written by Tom Paine be read of every regiment in

These are some of the great words of our history:

"The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will, in this
crisis, shrink from the service of their country; but he that stands
it now, deserves the love and thanks of man and woman. Tyranny, like
hell, is not easily conquered; yet we have this consolation with us, that
the harder the conflict, the more glorious the triumph."

So spoke Americans in the year 1776.

So speak Americans today.
At some point we shall do it.

As quickly as we assemble sufficient strength at any strategic point — whether in Europe or Africa or Asia — we shall use that strength aggressively to strike the enemy.

The Americans have never been defensive fighters. It is in our tradition — it is in our very nature — to make in such punches. The Nazis and the Japanese may get in some telling blows, fair or foul, in the early rounds. But we'll be on our feet at the final knock-out count.

We shall exploit each situation to the utmost. We shall use the best command available in each area. The spirit in which the United Nations are fighting this war was splendidly demonstrated in our own Netherlands Indies area when Admiral Hart yielded the naval command to Admiral Helfrich, who knew every current and eddy of the waters around those islands. Our forces there will be under the supreme command of the Generalsissimus Chiang Kai-shek.
And I should like particularly to call that promise to the attention of the Japanese. Admiral Nimitz has confirmed that he will dispute the terms of the peace he in the White House and Bush.

Today American and British and French units are serving under Admiral Nimitz and they are taking the Japanese with the enormous price for their gains. Ultimately our forces will be fighting together with the Chinese in the drive which will go straight through to Tokyo.

We have great allies in this war, and the greatest strength of all of them has been their ability to rally from defeat. The British and the Russian people have known the full fury of Hitler's onslaught. There have been times when the fate of London and Moscow was in serious question. But there was never the slightest suggestion that either the British or the Russians would yield, no matter how great the suffering imposed upon them. And when the day of retribution comes, the British and Russian armies and air forces will dispose of German militarism once and for all.

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is vital to the winning of this war, and it is vital to the security of the peaceful world, in which our children may live and grow and prosper.
The shape of the future always is suggested by the action of today. But an action taken today does not limit the future. The agreement reached in the first Atlantic Meeting with Prime Minister Churchill laid down certain broad principles for peace. That Agreement has been called the Atlantic charter, but no one should assume that its principles apply only to the parts of the world that border the Atlantic. They are principles on which the well-being of all the families of peoples everywhere depends.

Not only that, but the promise in this agreement belongs to the oppressed people everywhere, to those under the yoke of the Nazis in Europe, and to those like the Koreans and the Chinese of Manchuria, who know in their flesh the harsh despotism of Japan.

The promise is given too, with full thought to the peoples whose governments have been directed by members of the United Nations. For the victory will be won for freedom, else it will not be victory. It is not for you and me to propose ways and means by which these freedoms shall be obtained in every part of the world, but it is only for the broadest goal that American men will lay down their lives. We know that we fight first and last, for our own preservation. But we know too, that we are not to be preserved in a world any part of which is shut off from the free civilization which alone makes for enduring peace.

Since the United States entry into the war, very far-reaching agreements have been made for pooling resources with those united in fighting the aggressors. The only two nations possessing a
great and expanding industrial capacity and owning the shipping which must distribute the munitions of war, are the United States and Great Britain. So, a beginning in pooling has been made first by these two governments. But this essential step in organizing an effective use of our joint resources does not fix, and was not intended to fix, the future control of international effort. [What we face is first of all an administrative problem in dealing with the realities of today.]

Far from being the foundation of an Anglo-American hierarchy, it is the organization for victory for the United Nations, as in time will be made clear. The victory finally will be won by all the United Nations, by their men and their heroic human sacrifices, still more than by the equipment now so much needed from American and British factories. [So we must be explicit with ourselves and to them, that we are dedicated to their freedom as well as our own and that in the peace to come we regard them as worthy equals, entitled to our continuing helpfulness, but free to work out their own development.]

To mention only two countries, our association with Russia and China, begun long before this war, but deepened by our comradeship in it, will grow into still more intimate association in maintaining peace. And it is no idle calculation that when these two countries are freed of the fear of war, which has had to dominate their national lives for many years, they can at last relax their vigilance and devote themselves to the liberating forces of domestic prosperity. ]
The community of sacrifice we establish in common service will develop a comradeship which can know no limitations of race or creed or politics. And from that community there can and will develop a better, freer, fairer world.

We look forward to that world with hope and confidence... tomorrow know that the road which leads to that world is long and hard and we must fight every inch of the way. But work and fight we shall, and we shall not be stopped from moving steadily forward.

We are now entering a new phase of this war - a temporary phase, but one which will test us to the uttermost. Never before have we been called upon for such a prodigious effort. Never before have we had so little time in which to do so much.

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nothing but defeat. But Washington urged that the words written by Tom Paine be read at the head of every regiment.

These are some of the great ends of our history:

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So spoke Americans in the year 1776.  
So speak Americans today."
The celebration of Washington's Birthday in the midst of our initial military and naval reverses in this world-wide struggle is a most appropriate occasion for us to talk with each other about things as they are today and things as we know they shall be in the future. What made Washington the predominant, symbolic figure of his time was not only his generalship, his philosophy, his physical courage or his sacrifice. It was something more important even than these. Something which we refer to simply as character -- moral stamina.

General Washington led our colonies in a war which lasted eight years. During those years his armies were defeated and strategic positions were lost, more often than he won victories or captured key strongholds.

In those years, the continental army was faced continually with formidable odds. Supplies and equipment were lacking. In a sense, every winter was a Valley Forge. Throughout the thirteen states there existed a Fifth Column -- witting or unwitting. Selfish men, jealous men, fearful men, who proclaimed that Washington's cause was hopeless, that he
must lay down his arms and ask for a negotiated peace.

Washington’s conduct in these hard times has provided the model for all Americans ever since. Washington held to his course, as it had been charted in the Declaration of Independence. Washington and the brave men who served with him knew that no man’s life or fortune was secure, or worth securing, without the establishment of freedom and free institutions.

That was true of the thirteen colonies. It became true of the forty-eight states. In later years huge armaments have made it apply more and more to the whole world. The present great struggle has taught us that freedom of person and security of property anywhere in the world depends upon world-wide security of the social and international rights and obligations which we call liberty and justice and civilization.

This war is a new kind of war. It is different from all other wars of the past not only in its methods and implements but also in its geography. It is hard for us who have studied or read about localized warfare through the centuries to visualise what it means in terms of every continent, every island, every sea, every air lane in the world.
That is the reason why I have asked you to take out and spread before you the map of the whole world; and to follow with me the references which I shall make to the world encircling battle lines of this war. We must all understand that our job now is to fight at distances which extend all the way around the globe. And the reason we have to fight at such distances is that we must protect our supply lines, our lines of communication, our ability to use the seas — protect them from enemies who are bending every ounce of their strength, striving against time, to cut those lines. Their object is to separate the United States, Britain, China and Russia and isolate them one from another so that each will be surrounded and cut off from sources of supplies and reinforcements.

Separating the twenty-six United Nations, one from the other, is, of course, the Axis policy of "divide and conquer". To those who still cling to the sailing ship days' belief that we should pull our war ships and our merchant ships into the western Atlantic and the American side of the Pacific, let me illustrate what might happen.
1. We could no longer send aid of any kind to China — to
the brave people who, for nearly five years, have withstood Japanese
assault, destroyed hundreds of thousands of Japanese soldiers, and vast
quantities of Japanese war munitions. Even if we are thinking only of
our own selfish point of view, we must help China in her magnificent
defense and in her inevitable counter offense when it comes.

2. The whole of the southwest Pacific, including Australia,
New Zealand, the Malay Peninsula and Burma would probably fall under
Japanese domination. Japan could thereby release hundreds of ships and
hundreds of thousands of men to launch attacks on a large scale against
the coasts of North, Central and South America, including Alaska, and,
at the same time, to extend her conquests to India and through the Indian
Ocean to Africa and the Near East. A glance at your map will show you this.

3. If by pulling our heads within our own shells we are
compelled to stop sending munitions to the British and the Russians in
the Mediterranean and Persian Gulf areas, we will help the Nazis to overrun
Turkey, Syria, Iran, Persia, Egypt and the Suez Canal, the whole coast of
North Africa and the whole coast of West Africa — putting Germany within
easy striking distance of South America.
4. If by a fatuous policy advocated by a few, we cease to protect the North Atlantic supply line to Britain and to Russia, we help to cripple the splendid comeback by Russia against the Nazis, and we help to deprive Britain of essential food-supplies and munitions. And anyone who thinks the American people would favor such a policy as that is not a very keen student of public opinion. [Handwritten note: p. 6.]

The maintenance of lines of communications between the United Nations is vital.

There are four main lines of communication now being travelled by our ships: the North Atlantic, the South Atlantic, the Indian Ocean and the South Pacific. These routes are not one-way streets — for the ships which carry our goods to our allies bring back essential raw materials for our own use.

The defense of these lines requires control of the sea and of the air along the various routes, and this depends upon control of the strategic bases. Control of the air involves the simultaneous use of two types of planes — the long-range heavy bomber and the lighter and shorter-range pursuit planes, which are essential to the protection of the bases and the bombers themselves.
When we were trying to live under the illusion of isolation, it appeared that the American eagle was beginning to resemble an ostrich. Now, some people, afraid that we may be sticking our necks out, want our national bird to be turned into a turtle. But we prefer to retain the eagle as it is flying high and striking hard.

We are going to continue increasingly the policy of carrying the war to the enemy in distant lands and distant waters — as far as possible from our own home grounds.

Bombers can fly under their own power from here to the southwest Pacific, but pursuit planes can range only a few hundred miles. Therefore, pursuit planes have to be sent to the southwest Pacific in crates on board freight steamers. To send freight steamers through either the Atlantic route or the Pacific route to the southwest Pacific is an operation of many weeks under convoy — so that a vessel or a group of vessels can make a complete round trip in about four months, or, in other words, three round trips in a whole year. The route to the southwest Pacific from New York round the Cape of Good Hope is about the same distance and takes about the same amount of time as the route from San Francisco to the south Pacific direct.

Although we have been in the war for only two months and a half, we already have a very large number of bombers and pursuit
planes, flown by American pilots, which are in daily contact with the
enemy in the Netherlands Indies themselves. Every plane needs an average
of ten men on the ground at some base for its continued operation.
Therefore thousands of Americans are today in the southwest Pacific
in charge of ground operations including the operation of anti-aircraft guns.

I ask you to look at your maps again, particularly at that
portion of the Pacific Ocean lying west of Hawaii. Before this war
started the Philippine Islands were surrounded on three sides by Japan.
On the west Japan was in possession of the coast of China and the coast
of Indo-China yielded to them by the Vichy French. On the north lay the
islands of Japan themselves, reaching down almost to northern Luzon.

On the east the Philippine Islands are the so-called Mandated
Islands which Japan had fortified in absolute violation of her written word.

Immediately after this war started the Japanese forces moved
down on either side of the Philippines to numerous points south of them —
thereby completely ensnaring the Philippine Islands from all four
directions — north, south, east and west.
It is that complete barrier which has prevented us from
sending reinforcements of men and material to the gallant defenders
of Bataan Peninsula.

For many years it has been obvious to our military and naval
experts that in the event of war with Japan we could not retain military
or naval control of the Islands.

During this whole time we have figured that in the event of
war with Japan, we would fight a delaying action with American and
Filipino forces, retiring slowly into Bataan Peninsula and Corregidor
and that the war would eventually be won by a process of attrition
against Japan itself. Nothing that has occurred in the past two months
changes in the least bit the soundness of those obvious plans. As a
matter of simple fact, the defense put up by General MacArthur has
magnificently exceeded the previous estimates, and he and his men
deserve eternal glory and credit therefor.

It has been paid that Japanese gains in the Philippines were
made possible by the success of their surprise attack on Pearl Harbor.

Categorically and simply, I tell you that this is not so.
Even if the attack had not been made, we could not have sent the fleet to the Philippines through thousands of miles of ocean where all the bases were under the control of the Japanese.

The consequences of the attack on Pearl Harbor have been fantastically exaggerated in other ways. These exaggerations come from Axis propagandists and are repeated, I regret to say, by Americans in and out of public life. They are spread through conversation, speeches, the assurance radio and the press — and always with the assurance that they came from what they call undisclosed authoritative sources. It has been said that the reason no one had heard anything about our Pacific Fleet for several weeks after Pearl Harbor was that there was no Pacific Fleet — that it had all been sunk or destroyed on December 7th.

It has even been said that not 3,000 men were killed and wounded there, but 11,000 or 12,000 men. Some of them have gone on to say that several boat-loads of bodies of the dead were due to arrive in New York harbor to be interred in a large common grave.

For obvious reasons it was important for many weeks not to disclose to the Japanese the exact details of our losses. The very fact that the Japanese announcement of those losses was so wholly erroneous is sufficient proof that our decision at the time was right. To those who have been spreading the tale that the American Fleet was destroyed, and to the American people as a whole I state the following facts: The casualty lists show that 3,000 officers and men were killed or wounded there.
At 7.30 in the morning of December seventh there were based on Pearl Harbor ______ combatant ships. A relatively small number of them were in Pearl Harbor, and the great majority of them were at sea or in or near various parts of the Hawaiian Islands. Of this total of ______ combatant ships, including battleships, heavy cruisers, light cruisers, aircraft carriers, destroyers and submarines, only ______ were unable to proceed to sea and fight, or to stay at sea and fight, at 11 o'clock on the morning of December seventh, after the attack had been ended. In other words, ______% of the combat ships of the Pacific Fleet were still in fighting trim and only ______% had been damaged.

Of these damaged ships, a goodly number are back in full commission and are operating against the enemy. Another goodly number of them are under repair; and it now seems probable that of all the ships damaged, only three of them are beyond repair.

I can, without disclosing names of ships, point out that the total loss will probably involve only one ship; and that the other ships which were damaged are either finishing their repairs or will be completely ready in a relatively short time.
So much for those false Americans who spread false news.
Why have the true official figures not been revealed by our
government before this? For the very simple reason that it was information
which the enemy did not have and which it wanted very much to have. That
is true and will be true of many items of war information. They are kept
secret not because your government believes that the people of the United
States and their allies will be seriously depressed by bad news — or made
dangerously complacent by good news. Your government has mistakeable confi-
dence in your ability to hear the worst without flinching or losing heart.
You must in turn have confidence that your government is keeping nothing
from you except information that will help the enemy in his fight upon us.
In a democracy there is always a solemn pact of truth between government
and the people; but there must also always be a full use of discretion.

It is very easy for a newspaper owner or a commentator
to demand that some piece of news be immediately given to the public.
But the public very well understands that the newspaper owner or commentator
has very little knowledge of the reasons that lie behind temporary official
withholding of the information in any given case. The average American
understands and approves the action of his government. The fact that the
American people have not had all the details of Pearl Harbor has made no
difference in their determination to produce what they can and to fight
as hard as they can.
Rumors and gossip are rife in every crisis. In war time they always become worse. Government cannot and will not undertake to answer them all. It should not be necessary to deny them. For war is above all a matter of discipline; and the very essence of democracy is self-discipline. That is why I urge you all to disregard rumor and gossip and amateur comments, and above all not to spread them — for when you do you are unwittingly serving the Nazi and Japanese enemy.

Let me say once and for all to the people who dwell in the Southwestern Pacific area — all the way from the Philippines and Indo-China on the north, down through Siam and the Malay States and Singapore and the great Islands of Sumatra, Java, Borneo, New Guinea and the thousands of other Islands. "We have been compelled to yield ground, but we will regain it. We are committed to the destruction of militarism in Japan and in Germany. We will not stop short of total destruction of this militarism. The fortunes of war have been against us thus far, and they will continue against us until our full strength is mustered. But then we not they will have the offensive, we not they will win the final battle and we not they will make the peace."
DRAFT #3

Let these words of solemn assurance be heard also by the people of India — by Hindus and Moslems alike — whose great land may well be threatened by the Japanese from the East and the Nazis from the West. If there is to be an honorable and decent future for any of us, the world over, that future depends entirely in victory of the United Nations over the forces of Axis enslavement.

Millions of human beings in the vast Pacific area, like other millions in Europe, have seen what it is for people to live under the heel of the Japanese and Nazi conquerors. They have watched the fate of the peaceful populace who once made up the Kingdom of Korea, and the people of Manchuria, and the people of Holland, and Poland, and Norway.

When we look at those conquered peoples — and when we study the further course of conquest which the Nazis and the Japanese plan to follow — we know that this all one war and that the world is all one battlefield.

And in that war — throughout the whole battlefield in which it is raging — we are preparing to carry the fight to the enemy. Americans have never been willing, and never will be willing, to fight a defensive war. We do not propose to remain on the defensive for one day more than is absolutely necessary. We reject the counsel of despair of those who urge us to pull our forces in to our own waters and along our
own shores to wait for the attack here. At every outpost on the far-flung lines of communication, at every strategic stronghold of war in the world, there lies a part of our defense. To those points of defense we shall send our weapons and our men. For to win, we know that we shall have to hit and hit hard. We cannot stand still in our corner dodging the blows which come our way. We shall have to carry the attack to the enemy and deliver our blows whenever and wherever we can find him.

Since the fateful day when France fell in 1940, there have been two definite phases of this war.

In the first phase, the British Empire stood almost alone but helped by the men and ships of conquered nations and by an increasing supply of munitions from the United States. The opponents of the aggressors were greatly out-numbered and were literally fighting with their backs against the wall.

The second phase commenced when Russia entered the war last June and was fortified when we entered in last December. This second phase is still a defensive phase — for in most theatres of the war the Axis powers still have a superiority in trained men and in munitions. The exception is the magnificent counter-attack now being staged on the Russian-German front. In men the Russians have an undoubted superiority; and in
munitions and machines they have sufficient volume to inflict vast losses
of German planes, tanks and equipment of all kinds.

All of the United Nations are now confidently relying
on the third phase of the war — the time when on every front, not the
Russian alone, the United Nations will have such a clear superiority in
trained men and in munitions, that they will be able to wrest control from
the enemy and assume the offensive all along the line.

Therefore, in order to arrive at this third phase the
one all-important present part of this tremendous struggle is the battle
of production. It is a battle we must win undramatically and without
trumpets, in mines and shops and factories all across the land. It is a
battle we must win by sweating and sacrificing; a battle in which we must
never pause to count the cost — this battle of production on the winning
of which all our other battles depend.

In that battle this is the "crucial" spring. A plane
now is worth a dozen next year. We cannot wait for a year or two for our
weapons.

The fighting is going on today.

The Nation's danger exists today.

We must have the fighting equipment today.
Therefore, even in the midst of converting our peace-time factories to arsenals of war, even in the midst of retooling our factories more for war production, we must each day make more war materials than we made the day before.

On January 6th of this year I set certain definite goals of production of airplanes, tanks, and merchant ships. The Axis propagandists called them fantastic. Tonight nearly two months later and after a careful survey of progress by Donald Nelson and all others charged with responsibility for our production, I can tell you that those goals will all be attained — and on schedule.

And for that production, we shall need more and more of every kind of raw material — not next summer or next year, but now — today: more aluminum, more magnesium, more steel, more chemicals, more copper.

More and more, we must deny ourselves the use of these things. More sharply than ever before we must ration ourselves in our daily lives.
No factory has any right to work only 50% of the time. New methods and new techniques must be found to cut delays. There are still other ways to boost production now. At one point we may be able to do it by asking ownership to operate beyond the point where diminishing returns set in—that point where greater output means smaller net profit. At another point we may be able to do it by asking labor to forego for the duration some hard-earned privilege. In such cases we must go boldly for greater volume; we can work out the necessary adjustments for capital and for labor at our leisure. The only limit we can recognize now is the absolute physical limit of productive capacity. As long as we remain below that limit we are not doing enough.

While we are doing all of these things, we must of course plan so that tomorrow's production will exceed today's. Every shop and factory in America which can possibly make military goods or parts of military goods, and which is not absolutely needed to keep our civilian economy alive, must be converted to full military production. Every consideration which stands in the way of that must be swept aside; every device which will speed that along must be adopted. Every civilian use of a needed material must be stopped if it can possibly be done without wrecking our civilian life.
This cannot be done easily. It will require of all of us great endurance, great determination, great eagerness to do our very utmost. Sacrifices will be demanded of capital, of labor and of consumers. Every last one of us will have some part of the price to pay. None of that counts now. We have no time whatever to lose.

For production is not a matter merely of voting money or placing orders or drawing blueprints. It means individual work and effort and sacrifice for you and me and all other loyal Americans.

The quality of our production and of our entire war effort will depend on the true temper of our people. And I can say that none of us need be doubtful about that.

The Axis propagandists have tried and are still trying to destroy our determination and our morale. Failing in that, they try to destroy our confidence in our allies. At the same time, they are trying to destroy the confidence of the British, the Russians, the Chinese and the Dutch in us.

Ever since this nation became the arsenal of democracy — ever since enactment of Lend Lease — there has been one persistent theme through all Axis propaganda, German and Japanese.

The theme has been that Americans, admittedly rich, and that Americans have considerable industrial power — but that Americans cannot and will not fight.
From Berlin, Rome and Tokyo we have been described as a nation of weaklings — "playboys" — who would hire British soldiers, or Russian soldiers, or Chinese soldiers to do our fighting for us.

Let them repeat that now!

Let them tell that to General MacArthur and his men.

Let them tell that to the sailors who rallied from Pearl Harbor to carry the attack into the Marshall Islands.

Let them tell that to the American pilots in the Flying Fortresses.

Let them tell that to the Marines.

For many years we have tried to prevent this war. We did our very best to avoid getting into the fight. We were put into the fight by a traitorous attack upon us made under cover of peaceful negotiations.

But now that we are in — we are in for the finish and it will be a knock-out finish. For Nazism and Fascism wherever it has raised its ugly standards of slavery must be put out of business.
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As quickly as we assemble sufficient strength at any strategic point — whether in Europe or Africa or Asia — we shall use that strength aggressively to strike the enemy.

We shall exploit each situation to the utmost. We shall use the best command available in each area. The spirit in which the United Nations are fighting this war was splendidly demonstrated in the Netherlands Indies area when our own Admiral Hart yielded the naval command to the Hollander Admiral Helfrich, who knows every current and eddy of the waters around those islands. Today American, British and Dutch naval units are serving under Admiral Helfrich and they are making the Japanese pay an enormous price for their gains.

Ultimately our forces will be fighting together with the Chinese in the drive which will go straight through to Tokyo. And I should like particularly to call that promise to the attention of the Japanese Admiral who has announced that he will dictate the terms of peace here in the White House.

We have great allies in this war, and the greatest strength of all of them has been their ability to rally from defeat. The British and the Russian people have known the full fury of Hitler’s onslaught.
There have been times when the fate of both London and Moscow was in serious doubt. But there was never the slightest question that either the British or the Russians would yield, no matter how great the suffering imposed upon them. And when the day of retribution comes, the British and Russian armies and air forces will dispose of German militarism once and for all.

The collaboration of the United Nations is vital to the winning of this war, and it is vital to the security of the peaceful world in which our children are to live and grow and prosper.

The shape of the future always is suggested by the action of today. But an action taken today does not limit the future. The agreement reached in the first Atlantic Meeting with Prime Minister Churchill laid down certain broad principles for peace. That Agreement has been called the Atlantic Charter, but no one should assume that its principles apply only to the parts of the world that border the Atlantic. They are principles on which the well-being of all the families of peoples everywhere depends.

Not only that, but the promise in this agreement belongs to the oppressed people everywhere, to those under the yoke of the Nazis in Europe, and to those like the Koreans and the Chinese of Manchuria, who know in their flesh the harsh despotism of Japan.
The promise is given too, with full thought to the peoples whose governments have been directed by members of the United Nations. For the victory will be won for freedom, else it will not be victory. It is not for you and me to propose all the precise ways and means by which freedom must be obtained in every part of the world, but it is for us to say that freedom must be obtained. It is only for the broadest goal that American men will lay down their lives. We know that we fight first and last, for our own preservation. But we know too, that we are not to be preserved in a world any part of which is shut off from the free civilization which alone makes for enduring peace.

Since the United States entry into the war, very far-reaching agreements have been made for pooling resources with those united in fighting the aggressors. The two nations possessing a great and expanding industrial capacity and owning the shipping which must distribute the munitions of war, are the United States and Great Britain. So, a beginning in pooling has been made first by these two governments. But this essential step in organizing an effective use of our joint resources does not fix, and was not intended to fix, the future control of international effort.
Far from being the foundation of an Anglo-American hierarchy, it is the organization for victory for the United Nations. The victory finally will be won by all the United Nations, by their men and their heroic human sacrifices, still more than by the equipment now so much needed from American and British factories.

In the community of sacrifice we establish a comradeship which can know no limitations of race or creed or politics. And from that community there can and will develop a better, freer, fairer world.

We look forward to that world with hope and confidence. We know that the road which leads to that world is long and hard and we must work and fight every inch of the way. But work and fight we shall, and we shall not be stopped from moving steadily forward.

We are now entering a new phase of this war — a temporary phase, but one which will test us to the uttermost. Never before have we been called upon for such a prodigious effort. Never before have we had so little time in which to do so much.

"These are the times that try men's souls."

Tom Paine wrote those words on a drum-head, by the light of a campfire. That was when Washington's little army was retreating across New Jersey, having tasted nothing but defeat. But Washington ordered that
the words written by Tom Paine be read once a month of every regiment in the Continental Army.

These are some of the great words of our history:

"The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will, in this crisis, shrink from the service of their country; but he that stands it now, deserves the love and thanks of man and woman. Tyranny, like hell, is not easily conquered; yet we have this consolation with us, that the harder the conflict, the more glorious the triumph."

So spoke Americans in the year 1776.

So speak Americans today.
1. We could no longer send aid of any kind to China — to the
Iranian people who
in spite of the fact that China, for nearly five years, has have
withstood Japanese assault, destroyed hundreds of thousands
of Japanese soldiers, and seized Japanese war munitions. Even if we are thinking only of
it is worthwhile, for our own selfish point of view, we must
help China in her magnificent defense, and in her counter
offensive when it comes.

2. The whole of the southwest Pacific, including
Australia, New Zealand, the Malay Peninsula and Burma, would probably
fall under Japanese domination. Japan could thereby release
hundreds of ships and hundreds of thousands of men to extend
her offensive on a large scale against the coasts of North,
Central and South America, including Alaska, and, at the same
time, to India and through the Indian Ocean to Africa and the
Near East. A glance at your map will show you this.

3. If by pulling our heads within our own shells we
are compelled thereby to stop sending munitions to the
British and the Russians in the Mediterranean and Persian
Gulf areas, we open the door to a German-Italian overrunning
of Turkey, Syria, Iran, Persia, Egypt and the Suez Canal,
the whole coast of North Africa and the whole coast of
West Africa putting Germany within easy striking
distance of South America.
Mascon film wants A+B on the frame
And anyone who thinks the American people would favor such a policy as that is not a very keen student of public opinion.
There are four main lines of communication now being travelled by our ships: the North Atlantic, the South Atlantic, the Indian Ocean and the South Pacific. These routes are not one way streets — for the ships which carry our goods to our allies bring back essential raw materials from our own use.

The defense of these lines requires control of the sea and of the air along the various routes, and this depends upon control of strategic bases along the various routes.
4. If by the fatuous policy--ceremonially advocated by a few--we cease to protect the North Atlantic supply line to Britain and to Russia, we automatically invite the weakening of the splendid comeback by Russia against the Nazis, and we help to deprive Britain of raising the question of cutting Britain off from essential foodstuffs supplies and munitions, within the island of Britain itself.

These illustrations will show you how the defense of the United States itself and the Americas might be seriously compromised if we did not carry the war to the enemy in distant lands and distant waters.

The control of lines of communications between the United Nations is as vital for another reason. It is perhaps not generally realized that control of the air involves the simultaneous use of two types of planes -- the long range heavy bomber and the protection of the neighborhood of the bases of these bombers by lighter and shorter range planes known as pursuit planes. As an example, you have read that our long range bombers have been used with good effect in the neighborhood of Borneo, but you have also read that we have lost a number of them because they could not be protected by pursuit planes. You have asked why we did not
When we were trying to live under the illusion of isolationism, it appeared that the American eagle was beginning to resemble an ostrich. Now, some people, afraid that we may be sticking our necks out, want our national bird to be turned into a turtle. But we prefer to retain the eagle flying high and striking hard.

We are going to continue increasingly the policy of carrying the war to the enemy in distant lands and distant waters—as far as possible from our own home grounds.
thus protect them. The answer is simple.] Bombers can fly
under their own power from here to the southwest Pacific,
but pursuit planes can only range a few hundred miles, and
therefore have to be sent to the southwest Pacific in
modules on board freight steamers. To send freight steamers
through either the Atlantic route or the Pacific route to
the southwest Pacific is an operation of many weeks under
convoy -- so that a vessel or a group of vessels can make
a complete round trip in about four months or, in other
words, three round trips in a whole year. It is incidentally
worth remembering that the route to the southwest Pacific
from New York round the Cape of Good Hope is about the same
distance and takes about the same amount of time as the
route from San Francisco to the south Pacific direct.

[There is no reason why I should not tell you that although
considering the fact that we have been in the war for only
two months and a half, we already have a very large number
of bombers and pursuit planes, flown by American pilots,
which are in daily contact with the enemy in the Netherlands
Indies themselves. Remember also that every plane needs
an average of ten men on the ground at some base for its
continued operation. Thousands of Americans are today in
the southwest Pacific in charge of these ground operations and
in charge of anti-aircraft guns.

I ask you to look at your maps again, particularly
at that portion of the Pacific Ocean lying west of Hawaii.

Before this war started the Philippine Islands were surround-
ed on three sides by Japan. Japan was in possession of the
coast of China and the coast of Indo-China. The Philippines
were, therefore, blocked off on the west of them, North
of the Philippines lie the islands of Japan itself, reaching
down almost to northern Luzon. Those islands, therefore,
blocked ready access from the north. On the east side of
the Philippines, Japan had fortified the so-called Mandated
Islands lying between the Philippines and Hawaii. Guam was
a dot surrounded by Japanese islands which had been heavily
fortified. Heroic Wake was just outside the Japanese air
bases and readily accessible to them. All these Japanese
islands dotted the Pacific Ocean for more than a thousand
miles, and because Japan, in absolute violation of her
written word, had fortified them with naval and air bases,
access from the United States to the east side of the
Philippines had also been cut off.
Every soon after this war started the Japanese forces moved down on our side of the Philippines to numerous points south of them — thereby completely encircling the Philippine Islands from all four directions — north, south, east and west.

It is that complete barrier which has prevented us from sending reinforcements of men and material to the gallant defenders of Bataan Peninsula.

This fact, however, is not a complete answer. There is another factor. Ever since the United States assumed control of the Philippine Islands from Spain in 1898, we have had the national objective of helping them over a period of years to make themselves wholly fit for complete independence. During these same forty-four years our military and naval experts have not admitted but have asserted that in the event of war between the United States and Japan we could not at the beginning of such a war retain military or naval control of the Islands. To have attempted to hold such control would have meant spending billions of dollars on fortifications, on huge garrisons and on many completely equipped naval bases in the Philippines themselves. This country as a whole
[may not have realized that fact but every Member of the Congress has understood it very clearly]. During this whole time we have figured that in the event of war with Japan, we would fight a delaying action with American and Filipino forces, retiring slowly into Bataan Peninsula and Corregidor and that the war over a long period -- perhaps years] would eventually be won by a process of attrition against Japan itself. Nothing that has occurred in the past two months changes in the least bit the soundness of those obvious plans. As a matter of simple fact, the defense put up by General MacArthur has exceeded in point of time the previous estimates, and he and his men deserve all credit therefor.

To explode another fallacy, it can be said, without fear of contradiction, that if no attack whatsoever had been made on Pearl Harbor on December seventh, and if no American ships had been destroyed there, our operations in the Pacific Ocean up-to-date would not have been changed for the better, except in one particular. If no ships had been put out of commission in Pearl Harbor, the injured ships would have been employed on convoy duty, but the number of such ships would have added only a small percentage to the vessels of war now engaged on such duty. If no battleships had been
For many years it has been obvious to our military and naval experts that the Philippines in the event of war with Japan we could not retain military or naval control of the islands.
It has been said that Japanese
success in the
Philippines was made
possible by the success of their surprise
attack on Pearl Harbor. This is so.
Categorically and simply, I tell you that this is not so.
Even if the attack had not been
made, we could not have sent the
fleet to the Philippines through thousands
of miles of ocean where all the
bases were under the control of the
Japanese.
The consequences of the attack on Pearl Harbor have been psychologically exaggerated in other ways. These exaggerations come from Axis propaganda and are repeated, I regret to say, by Americans in and out of public life. They are spread through conversation, speeches, radio and the press — and always with the assurance that they come from what the authors undisclosed authoritative princes. It has been said that the reason we are told heard anything about our Pacific Fleet for several weeks after Pearl Harbor was that there was no Pacific fleet — that it had all been sunk or destroyed on December 7th. It has even been said that
For obvious reasons it was important for many weeks not to disclose to the Japanese the exact details of our losses. The very fact that the Japanese announcement of those losses was so wholly erroneous is sufficient proof that our decision at the time was right. To those who have been spreading the tale that the American Fleet was destroyed, and to the American people as a whole I state the following facts:
injured at Pearl Harbor we would not have been in a position to send the battleship fleet to the Philippines, for example, because we had not sufficient naval bases there, and the best they could have done would have been to make a raid and return at once to Hawaii.

[In this same connection, there exists the pathetic fact that altogether too many Americans, in and out of public life, through conversation, speeches, radio and press, have spread the word around, quoting what they call "undisclosed, authoritative sources", that the American Navy had ceased to exist in the Pacific as a result of Pearl Harbor and that not 3,000 men were killed and wounded there but 11,000 or 12,000 men. Some of them have gone on to say that several boat-loads of bodies of the dead were due to arrive in New York Harbor to be interred in a large common grave.]

[Enough time has now elapsed for me to tell you more detailed figures in regard to losses at Pearl Harbor. The casualty list, which the Navy Department was wholly truthful in announcing, that only about 3,000 officers and men were killed or wounded there.]
As to the destruction of the Fleet, I want you to remember this simple fact. At 7:50 in the morning of December seventh there were based on Pearl Harbor 10 combatant ships. A relatively small number of them were in Pearl Harbor, and the great majority of them at sea or in or near various parts of the Hawaiian Islands. Of this total of 10 combatant ships, including battleships, heavy cruisers, light cruisers, aircraft carriers, destroyers and submarines, only ___ were unable to proceed to sea and fight, or to stay at sea and fight, at 11 o'clock on the morning of December seventh, after the attack had been ended. In other words, ___ per cent of the combat ships of the Pacific Fleet were in fighting trim and only ___ had been damaged. Of these damaged ships, a goodly number are back in full commission and are operating against the enemy. Another goodly number of them are under repair, and it seems probable that of all the ships damaged, only three of them are beyond repair.
So much for those false Americans who spread false news.

Lest such false Americans try to find an excuse by saying that all our battleships in Hawaii were destroyed, I can, without disclosing names of ships, point out that the total loss will probably involve only one ship; that many of them were able to fight at sea immediately after Pearl Harbor; and that the others are either finishing their repairs or will be completely ready in a relatively short time.
The celebration of Washington's Birthday in the midst of our current military and naval reverses in this world-wide struggle is a most appropriate occasion for us to talk with each other about things as they are today and things as we know they shall be in the future.

What made Washington the predominant, symbolic figure of his time was not only his generalship, his philosophy, his physical courage or his devotion to the great cause he served. It was something more important even than those -- something which we refer to simply as character -- moral stamina.

General Washington led our first armed forces in a war which lasted eight years. For eight years, the continental army was faced continually with formidable odds and recurring defeats. Supplies and equipment were lacking. In a sense, every winter was a Valley Forge. Throughout the thirteen states there existed fifth columnists -- traitors of tomorrow -- selfish men, jealous men, fearful men, who proclaimed that Washington's
cause was hopeless, that he should ask for a negotiated peace.

Washington's conduct in those hard times has provided the model for all Americans ever since. Washington held to his course, as it had been charted in the Declaration of Independence. Washington and the brave men who served with him knew that no man's life or fortune was secure, without the establishment of freedom and free institutions.

That was true of the thirteen colonies. It became true of the forty-eight states. In later years huge armaments and swift communications have made it apply more and more to the whole world. The present great struggle has taught us that freedom of person and security of property anywhere in the world depend upon world-wide security for the social and international rights and obligations which we call liberty and justice and civilization.
A What was true for the thirteen colonies is to-day true for the forty-eight states and indeed of the entire world.
This war is a new kind of war. It is different from all other wars of the past not only in its methods and implements and objectives but also in its geography. It is hard for us to visualize what this warfare means in terms of every continent, every island, every sea, every air lane in the world.

That is the reason why I have asked you to take out and spread before you the map of the whole earth and to follow with me the references which I shall make to the world-encircling battle lines of this war.

We must all understand and face the hard fact that our job now is to fight at distances which extend all the way around the globe.

Those broad oceans which have been heralded in the past as our protection from attack have become almost endless battlefields on which we are constantly being challenged by our enemies.

We must fight at vast distances to protect our supply lines and our lines of communication to our allies — protect them from the enemies who are bending every ounce...
of their strength, striving against time, to cut those lines. Their object is to separate the United States, Britain, China, and Russia, and to isolate them one from another, so that each will be surrounded and cut off from sources of supplies and reinforcements.

Separating the United Nations is, of course, the old Axis policy of "divide and conquer". There are those who still cling to the "sailing-ship days" belief that we should pull our war ships and our planes and our merchant ships into the Western Atlantic and the American side of the Pacific Coast to concentrate solely on last ditch defense. But let me illustrate what would happen if we followed such foolish advice.

1. We could no longer send aid of any kind to China -- to the brave people who, for nearly five years, have withstood Japanese assault, destroyed hundreds of thousands of Japanese soldiers, and vast quantities of Japanese war munitions. Even if we are thinking only of our own selfish point of view, it is essential that we must help China in her magnificent defense and in her inevitable counter-offense as soon as it comes. for that is our important element in the ultimate defeat of Japan.
Look at your map. Look at the vast area of China, with its millions of fighting men. Look at the vast area of Russia, with its powerful armies and proven military might. Look at Australia, New Zealand, the Dutch Indies, India, the Near East and the Continent of Africa, with their resources of raw materials and peoples determined to resist [equally desirous of avoiding] Axis domination. Look at North, Central and South America.

What, I ask you, would happen in all these great sections [if each one of them adopted the turtle policy advocated by some Americans?]

Reservoirs of power if they were cut off from each other either by enemy action or self-imposed isolation? You know very well what would happen. The Axis forces would win this war, because...
2. The whole of the southwest Pacific, including Australia and New Zealand, would fall under Japanese domination. Japan could then release great numbers of ships and men to launch attacks on a large scale against the coasts of North, Central and South America, including Alaska. At the same time, she could immediately extend her conquests to India, and through the Indian Ocean, to Africa and the Near East. A glance at your map will show you how this would be done.

3. If by pulling our heads within our own shells we are compelled to stop sending munitions to the British and the Russians in the Mediterranean and Persian Gulf areas, we will help the Nazis to overrun Turkey, Syria, Iraq, Persia, Egypt and the Suez Canal, the whole coast of North Africa and the whole coast of West Africa -- putting Germany within easy striking distance of South America.

4. If by a fatuous policy advocated by a few, we cease to protect the North Atlantic supply line to Britain and to Russia, we help to cripple the splendid comeback by Russia against the Nazis, and help to deprive Britain of essential food-supplies and munitions. And anyone who thinks
When we were trying to live under the illusion of isolationism, it appeared that the American eagle was beginning to resemble an ostrich. Now, some people, afraid that we may be sticking our necks out, want our national bird to be turned into a turtle. But we prefer to retain the eagle as it is — flying high and striking hard.

I know that I speak for all of the people when I say that we will continue increasingly the policy of carrying the war to the enemy in distant lands and distant waters — as far as possible from our home grounds.

The maintenance of all lines of communications between the United Nations is vital.

There are four main lines of communication now being travelled by our ships: the North Atlantic, the South Atlantic, the Indian Ocean and the South Pacific. These routes are not one-way streets — for the ships which carry our munitions out-bound bring back essential raw materials which we require for our own use.
The defense of these lines demands the simultaneous use of the sea and of the air along the various routes; and this, in turn, depends upon control of the strategic bases along those routes.

Control of the air involves the simultaneous use of two types of planes -- first, the long-range heavy bomber, and second, the lighter and shorter-range pursuit planes, which are essential to the protection of the bases and of the bombers themselves.

Heavy bombers can fly under their own power from here to the southwest Pacific; but pursuit planes cannot, their range is only a few hundred miles. Therefore, pursuit planes have to be sent to the southwest Pacific in crates on cargo ships, loaded at your ports and unloaded at yours again. The route to the southwest Pacific from New York across the South Atlantic around South Africa is about the same distance and takes about the same amount of time as the route from San Francisco to the south Pacific direct. To send freight through either the Atlantic route or the Pacific route to the southwest Pacific is an operation of many weeks, and a vessel can make a complete round trip in about four months, or, in other
words, only three round trips in a whole year.

Although we have been in the war for only two months and a half, we already have a very large number of bombers and pursuit planes, by American pilots, which are now in daily contact with the enemy in the Southwest Pacific. Furthermore every plane needs an average of ten men on the ground at some base for its continued operation.

And I can tell you that thousands of Americans are today in the Southwest Pacific engaged in operations on the Pacific Ocean lying west of Hawaii. Before this war even started, the Philippine Islands were surrounded on three sides by Japan. On the west, the Japanese were in possession of the coast of China and the coast of Indo-China which had been yielded to them by the Vichy French. On the north, lay the islands of Japan themselves, reaching down almost to northern Luzon. On the east are the Mandated Islands which Japan had occupied exclusively and had fortified in absolute violation of her written word.
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of ten men on the ground at some base for its continued operation.

And I can tell you that thousands of Americans are today in

...in that area in the southwest Pacific engaged ground operations, in

the operation of deck-attack guns.

I ask you to look at your maps again, particularly

at that portion of the Pacific Ocean lying west of Hawaii.

Before this war even started, the Philippine Islands were already

...Japanese forces. On the west, the Japanese

were in possession of the coast of China and the coast of

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On the north, lay the islands of Japan themselves, reaching
down almost to northern Luzon. On the east are the

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In this battle area Japan has a clear advantage. She can fly her short-range planes to the East Indies by using the many stepping stones—bases in a multitude of islands and also bases on the China, Indo-China and Thailand coasts. Japanese troop transports can go south from Japan and China through the narrow China Sea which can be protected by Japanese planes throughout its whole length.
INSERT D

These islands, hundreds of them, appear only as small dots on most maps. They cover an enormous extent from north to south and from east to west. Guam lies in the middle of them—a lone outpost we never fortified. Wake Island, northeast of them, is within easy reach—much closer to the Japanese bases than the 2,000 mile distance that Wake lies from Hawaii.
Under the Washington Treaty of 1921 we had solemnly agreed not to add to the fortification of the Philippine Islands. We had no safe naval base there, so we could not use the islands for extensive naval operations.
For we know that, with our great resources, we can outbuild Japan and ultimately overwhelm her on sea, on land and in the air. In the meantime, in defense and in attack, we shall continue to destroy the Japanese and their implements of warfare.
Immediately after this war started, the Japanese forces moved down on either side of the Philippines to numerous points south of them -- thereby completely encircling the Islands from all four directions -- north, south, east and west.

It is that complete barrier on all four sides with control of the air by Japanese land-based aircraft which has prevented us from sending reinforcements of men and material to the gallant defenders of Bataan Peninsula and the Philippines. While this may have shocked many Americans, the fact is that for many years it has been obvious to our military and naval experts that in the event of war with Japan we could not retain military or naval control of the Islands.

During this whole time it has always been our strategy that in the event of a full-scale attack on the Islands by Japan, we would fight a delaying action, attempting to retire slowly into Bataan Peninsula and Corregidor. We knew that the war as a whole would have to be fought and won by a process of attrition against Japan itself. Nothing that has occurred in the past two months has caused us to revise this basic strategy -- except that the defense put up by
General MacArthur has magnificently exceeded the previous estimates; and he and his men are gaining eternal glory \[\text{and credit}\] therefor.

When I spoke to the American people last May, I said that our Bunker Hill of tomorrow may be thousands of miles from Boston. We now know that our modern Bunker Hill is Bataan Peninsula.

It has been said that Japanese gains in the Philippines were made possible only by the success of their surprise attack on Pearl Harbor. \text{Categorically and simply, I tell you that this is not so.}

Even if the attack had not been made, your map will show that it would have been folly to send the fleet to the Philippines through thousands of miles of ocean \[\text{all those island bases were under the sole control of the Japanese.}\]

The consequences of the attack on Pearl Harbor -- \[\text{Ve}n\]ge\text{as they were -- have been wildly exaggerated in other ways. These exaggerations came originally from Axis propagandists; but they have been repeated, I regret to say, by Americans in and out of public life. They are spread through conversation, speeches, the radio and the press -- and always}
with the assurance that they come from what are called "undisclosed authoritative sources".

It has been said, for example, that the reason no one heard anything about our Pacific Fleet for several weeks after Pearl Harbor was that there was no longer any Pacific Fleet -- that it had all been sunk or destroyed on December 7th.

It has even been said that not 3,000 men were killed there, but 11,000 or 12,000 men. Some have even gone on to say that several loads of bodies of the dead were due to arrive in New York harbor to be buried in a common grave.

For obvious reasons it was important for many weeks not to disclose to the Japanese the exact details of our losses. The very fact that the Japanese announcement of those losses was so wholly erroneous is sufficient proof that our decision at the time was right.

To those who have been spreading the tale that the American Fleet was destroyed, and to the American people as a whole, however, I state the following facts.

The number of our officers and men killed at Pearl Harbor was 2,340. You can be absolutely sure that all statements of casualties by your Army and Navy are correct and complete.
As to losses of ships: at 7:50 in the morning of December seventh there were based on Pearl Harbor combatant ships — battleships, heavy cruisers, light cruisers, aircraft carriers, destroyers and submarines. A relatively small number of them were in Pearl Harbor itself; the great majority of them were at sea or in or near various parts of the Hawaiian Islands. Of this total of 100 combatant ships, only 17 were unable to proceed to sea and fight at 11 o'clock on the morning of December seventh, after the attack had been ended. In other words, 83% of the combat ships of the Pacific Fleet were still in fighting trim and 17% had been put out of commission, temporarily or permanently.

Of these damaged ships, a goodly number are back in full commission and are even now operating against the enemy. Others of them are under repair; and it now seems probable that of all the ships damaged, only three of them are judged beyond repair.

Why have these official figures not been revealed by our government before this? For the reason that it was information which the enemy did not have, and
which it wanted very much to have. That is true and will be true of many other items of war information. They are kept secret not because your government believes that the people of the United States and their allies will be seriously depressed by bad news — or made dangerously complacent by good news. Your government has unmistakable confidence in your ability to hear the worst without flinching or losing heart. You must, in turn, have complete confidence that your government is keeping nothing from you except information that will help the enemy in his attempt to destroy us. In a democracy there is always a solemn pact of truth between government and the people; but there must also always be a full use of discretion.

It is very easy to demand that some piece of news be immediately given to the public. But the public very well understands the reasons that lie behind temporary official withholding of the information in any given case. The average American understands and approves the action of his government. The fact that the American people have not previously had all the details of Pearl Harbor has made no difference in their determination to produce as fast as they can and to fight as hard as they can.
IWSER!

You and I have the utmost contempt for Americans who since Pearl Harbor have whispered or announced "off the record" that there was no longer any Pacific Fleet — that the Fleet had all been sunk or destroyed on December 7th. They claimed that eleven or twelve thousand men had been killed or wounded at Pearl Harbor instead of 2,000 that shiploads of bodies of the dead were about to arrive in New York harbor to be put in a common grave.

You and I can rest assured that all major facts have been and will be disclosed to the American people. We might as well make up our minds that in many cases — most cases — the details of those facts will not be disclosed until we are absolutely certain that the announcement will not give important military information to the enemy.

I am not in the least bit concerned about the inability of the American people to take losses and even defeats with their chins up. If tomorrow an American ship of any kind is hit by a Japanese plane and a great volume of smoke arises from the ship, the Japanese may easily claim the sinking of that ship. It would be obviously ridiculous for the Navy to
Your government has unmistakable confidence in your ability to bear the worst without flinching or losing heart. You must, in turn, have complete confidence that your government is keeping nothing from you except information that will help the enemy in his attempts to destroy us. In a democracy there is always a solemn force of truth between government and the people but there must also always be a full use of discretion — and that sound discretion applies to government and to the critics of government as well.
announce that the ship had sustained damage which it would take three weeks to repair, if that happened to be the fact. Similarly if one of our combat ships were actually sunk in a collision of which the Japanese knew nothing it would be the height of folly to announce for the benefit of the Japanese that the ship was lost.

This is war. Today and throughout its whole course your government will conduct it with full realization of its seriousness and with the sole objective of winning it. The American people understand and approve this purpose. They want to know and will be told the general trend of how the war is going. They do not wish to help the enemy any more than our fighting forces do and they will pay little attention to the birds of ill omen in our midst.

To revert to Pearl Harbor: the number of our officers and men killed that day was 2,340. About 1,000 more were wounded. As to the losses of ships and referring to all combatant ships based on Pearl Harbor only three were permanently put out of commission.
Very many of the ships of the Pacific Fleet were not even in Pearl Harbor. Some of those there were not hit. Some were hit very slightly and others more seriously damaged have either rejoined the Fleet by now or are still undergoing repairs. When the repairs of the latter are completed the ships will be more efficient fighting machines than they were before.
Rumors and gossip are rife in every crisis. In war time they always become worse. Your government cannot, and will not, undertake to deny them all. It is not necessary to deny them; for war is above all a matter of discipline; and the very essence of democracy is self-discipline.

I suggest that when you hear any rumor of some hidden disaster, you should ask your informant to prove his statement. If he mentions some "authority" as his source, ask him to resign that in name this "authority", publicly, so that this so-called "authority" shall have a chance to speak up for himself.

Disregarding rumors, however, and concentrating on facts, the official reports we still find little to cheer about—!

in the present grim situation. We have suffered overwhelming defeats and we shall suffer more of them before the turn of the tide. But, let me say once and for all to the people who dwell in the southwestern Pacific area— all the way from the Philippines and Indo-China on the north, down through Siam and the Malay States and Singapore and the great Islands of Sumatra, Java, Borneo, New Guinea and the thousands of other Islands—let me say this:
We have been compelled to yield ground, but we will regain it. We are committed to the destruction of militarism in Japan and in Germany. We are not the defeated strength. That task is accomplished, we, not they, will have the offensive; we, not they, will win the final battle; and we, not they, will make the final peace.

Let these words of solemn assurance be heard also by the people of India -- by Hindus and Moslems alike -- whose great land may well be threatened by the Japanese from the East and the Nazis from the West. If there is to be an honorable and decent future for any of us, the world over, that future depends entirely upon victory by the United Nations over the forces of Axis enslavement.

Millions of human beings in the Pacific area, like other millions in Europe, know what it is for people to live under the heel of the Japanese and Nazi conquerors.

When we look at the conquered peoples all over the earth -- and when we study the further course of conquest which the Nazis and the Japanese plan to follow -- we know that this is all one war and that the world is all one battlefield.
Conquered nations in Europe know what the yoke of the Nazis is like. So do the Koreans and the people of Manchuria know in their flesh the harsh despotism of Japan. If there is to be an honorable and decent future for any of us the world over, that future depends on victory by the United Nations over the forces of Axis enslavement.
Since the fateful day when France fell in 1940, there have been two definite phases of this war.

In the first phase, the British Empire stood almost alone -- helped only by the men and ships of conquered nations and by an increasing supply of munitions from the United States. The opponents of the aggressors were overwhelmingly out-numbered, and were then literally fighting with their backs against the wall.

The second phase commenced when Russia was attacked last June and was intensified last December when Japan, Germany and Italy declared war on us. This second phase is still a defensive phase -- for in most theatres of the war the Axis powers still have a superiority in trained men and in munitions. The exception is the magnificent counter-attack now being staged on the Russian-German front. There the Russians have an undoubted superiority in men; and in munitions and machines they have sufficient volume to inflict vast continuing destruction on German planes, tanks and equipment of all kinds.

All of the United Nations are now confidently relying on the third phase of the war to come -- the time when on every front, not the Russian front alone, the United Nations will have
such a clear superiority in trained men and in munitions, that they will be able to assume the offensive all along the line.

In order to arrive at this third phase as quickly as possible the one all-important part of this tremendous struggle is the battle of production. It is a battle we must win undramatically and without trumpets -- in mines and shops and factories all across the land. It is a battle we must win by sweating and sacrificing. It is a battle in which we must never pause to count the cost -- this battle of production on the winning of which all our other battles depend.

In that battle huge additional production next year is essential. But increased production tomorrow and the next day and next day and next month are even more important. In the battle of production, this is the crucial spring.

On January 6th of this year I set certain definite goals of production of airplanes, tanks, and merchant ships. The Axis propagandists called them fantastic. Tonight nearly two months later and after a careful survey of progress by Donald Nelson and all others charged with responsibility for our production, I can tell you that those goals will all be attained -- and on schedule.
And for that production, we shall need more and more of every kind of raw material -- not next summer or next year, but now -- today: more aluminum, more magnesium, more steel, more chemicals, more rubber, more copper. More and more, we must deny ourselves the use of these things. More sharply than ever before we must ration ourselves in our daily lives.

I can give you a very simple example of the many ways in which each individual can contribute.

The American people spend more than two billion dollars a year on automotive maintenance. That includes all servicing and repairs on private cars and trucks of all kinds.

You can help to save the materials and the skilled labor needed for this maintenance. When you make purchases at stores, carry them home yourself if you possibly can. That saves delivery. If you own a car, drive it sparingly and avoid speeding. That adds to the life of the car and the tires and reduces the need for servicing and repairs.

By reducing our annual expenditure for maintenance by only twenty-five per cent, we can release enough skilled
If a peace [of justice] is to be attained, if all of us are to save our own skins, there is one thought to keep uppermost -- the fulfillment of the task of production.

[Look again at your world map and listen to this close argument.]

Germany, Italy and Japan are very close to their maximum output of planes, guns, tanks and ships. The United Nations are not -- especially the United States of America.

[It is physically possible, principally with American aid, so greatly to build up production that the United Nations can maintain control of the seas and attain control of the air -- which means] not merely a slight superiority, but an overwhelming superiority.

On January 6th of this year, I set certain definite goals of production of airplanes, tanks and ships. The Axis propagandists called them fantastic. Tonight, nearly two months later, and after a careful survey of progress by Donald Nelson and all others charged with responsibility for our production, I can tell you that those goals will be attained -- and on schedule.
It will be generations or even centuries before our conception of democracy can live again.
In every part of the country, experts in production and at work the men and women in the plants are giving loyal service. With few exceptions, labor, capital and farming realize that this is no time either to make undue profits or to gain special advantages, one over the other.

We are calling for new plants and additions to old plants; we are seeking more men and women to man them. We are working longer hours. People in every walk of life are coming more and more to the realization that if we don't lay this war there will never be any more progress along the democratic lines of the past. You Americans will be forced to a lower standard of life under the prophesies of dictatorship.

Here are three high purposes for every American:

1. We shall not stop work for a single day. If any dispute arises, we shall keep on working and let somebody else solve it, mediate or conciliate it or arbitrate it for the duration of the war - until the war is won.

2. We shall not demand special gains or special privileges for your group or your occupation which would give you a special advantage over
other groups or occupations.

business, labor, and agriculture alike.

3. Give up conveniences and modify the routine of your lives if your country asks you to do so. I know you will do it cheerfully.

Remember that the common enemy seeks to destroy every home and every freedom in every part of the land.

(Please #19 follows this insert)
labor and materials to build 10,000 tanks for our fighting forces. 

Every shop and factory in America which can possibly make military goods or parts of military goods, and which is not absolutely needed to keep our civilian economy alive, must be converted to full military production. Every consideration which stands in the way of that must be swept aside; every device which will speed that along must be adopted.

This cannot be done easily. Sacrifices will be demanded of capital, of labor and of consumers. Every last one of us will have some part of the price to pay.

For production is not a matter merely of voting money or placing orders or drawing blueprints. It means individual work and effort and sacrifice for you and me and all other loyal Americans.

The quality of our production and of our entire war effort will depend on the true temper of our people. And I can say that none of us need be doubtful about that.

The Axis propagandists have tried in various evil ways to destroy our determination and our morale. Failing in that, they are now trying to destroy our confidence in our own
They say the British are finished — That
that the Russians or the Americans are
about to quit. But, before we listen
to any of this propaganda, let us
remember some of the things they have
said and are still saying about us.
Allies. At the same time, they are trying to destroy the confidence of the British in us -- and of the Russians, the Chinese and the Dutch in us.

Ever since this nation became the arsenal of democracy -- ever since enactment of Lend Lease -- there has been one persistent theme through all Axis propaganda -- German and Japanese.

The theme has been that Americans are admittedly rich, and that Americans have considerable industrial power -- but that Americans are soft and decadent, that we cannot and will not fight.

From Berlin, Rome and Tokyo we have been described as a nation of weaklings -- "playboys" -- who would hire British soldiers, or Russian soldiers, or Chinese soldiers to do our fighting for us.

Let them repeat that now!

Let them tell that to General MacArthur and his men.

Let them tell that to the sailors who rallied from Pearl Harbor to carry the attack into the Marshall Islands.

Let them tell that to the boys in the Flying Fortresses.
Let them tell that to the Marines!

We certainly tried to avoid this war. But we were forced into it by our enemies, and we have gone in fighting. We are in to the finish and it will be a knock-out finish.

Our airmen, in their first experience in actual combat, have knocked down at least four Japanese planes for every one of our own that has been lost. This is an established fact and the Japanese know it. And they also know how their rate of airplane production compares with ours. That is why they're in such a tremendous hurry to deprive us of all possible bases from which our planes can operate.

The great fight of the United Nations today is to defend existing bases -- and the great fight of tomorrow is to regain the bases we have already lost and to gain new bases from which to launch the offensive.

As quiddy as we assemble sufficient strength at any strategic point -- whether in Europe or Africa or Asia -- we must use that strength aggressively to strike the enemy.
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Here is another suggested "don't" when you start giving your own values to war comments. I cite the example of the three German ships which successfully ran the narrow channel from Brest back to a German port. This was not a British defeat even though many good people in England and the United States assume that it was a British defeat. If I had been the German admiral I would have figured on getting odds of two to one on returning to Germany by choosing thick weather and taking the shortest route. Therefore, it would have been a stroke of very good luck if the British had overcome these odds and sunk one or more of the German ships.

Furthermore, on this strategical side there are many officers who believe that the presence of these ships in one place — on the German side of the North Sea is far better for the British and American Navies than the former situation. When these three ships were in Brest in France they constituted a direct menace to the North Atlantic lane, the South African lane, the South American lane and the entrance to the Mediterranean. Ships of the United Nations were so disposed as to cover that menace and other ships were so disposed as to cover the other German navy ships which were based on Rendsen and Kiel. From my own point of view, it is rather an advantage than a disadvantage to have those German ships all together in one place. As between having them in a German port or at the bottom
of the sea, there can be no argument. But as between having them two
different places or one place, there is a fairly sound argument to the
latter.

Some people might call this a weak argument but they are setting
up their judgment against the considered expert opinion. As one man put it
who had the true facts explained to him: "It seems to me that the worst
that can be said of the trip of those three German ships is that the situa-
tion is not one bit worse than it was before. It may be better. And the
British had hard luck in not overcoming two to one odds against them."
These figures will be bad news for those who with apparent ghoulish glee kept repeating that the report of the Secretary of the Navy soon after the attack was far too rosy and that the damage was infinitely worse than he would admit. What I have told you proves that that report was not only correct at the time it was made, but that the actual number of ships destroyed was fewer than we believed then.
We must exploit each situation to the utmost. We must use the best command -- the best specialists -- available in each area.

The spirit in which all the United Nations are fighting this war is one of complete cooperation and comradeship. Unified commands and unified striking forces -- those are the symbols of a united determination to win through to the end.

Since the United States entry into the war, very far-reaching agreements have been made for pooling resources with those united in fighting the aggressors. Two nations possessing a great and expanding industrial capacity and at the same time owning the shipping which must distribute the munitions of war, are the United States and Great Britain. So, a beginning in pooling has been made first by these two governments. But this essential step in organizing an effective use of our joint resources does not fix, and was not intended to fix, the future control of international effort.

Far from being the foundation of an Anglo-American hierarchy, it is the organization for victory for the United Nations. The victory finally will be won by all the United Nations,
by their men and their heroic human sacrifices, still more
than by the equipment now so much needed from Americans and
British factories.

In the community of sacrifice we establish a comrade-
ship which can know no limitations of race or creed or politics.
And from that community there can and will develop a better,
freer, fairer world.

Ultimately our forces will be fighting together
with the Chinese in the drive which will go straight through
to Tokyo. And I should like particularly to call that promise
to the attention of the Japanese Admiral who has announced that
he will dictate the terms of peace here in the White House.

INSERT D

We have great allies in this war, and the greatest
strength of all of them has been their ability to carry on.
The British and the Russian people have known the full fury
of Hitler's onslaught. There have been times when the fate of
both London and Moscow was in serious doubt. But there was
never the slightest question that either the British or the
Russians would yield, no matter how great the suffering imposed
upon them. And when the day of retribution comes, the British
and Russian armies and air forces will dispose of German militarism once and for all.

The collaboration of the United Nations is vital to the winning of this war, and it is vital to the security of the peaceful world in which our children are to live and grow and prosper.

The shape of the future always is suggested by the action of today. But an action taken today does not limit the future. The agreement reached in the first Atlantic Meeting with Prime Minister Churchill laid down certain broad principles for peace. That Agreement has been called the Atlantic Charter, but no one should assume that its principles apply only to the parts of the world that border the Atlantic. They are principles on which the well-being of all the families of peoples everywhere depends.

Not only that, but the promise in this agreement belongs to the oppressed people everywhere, to those under the yoke of the Nazis in Europe, and to those like the Koreans and the people of Manchuria, who know in their flesh the harsh despotism of Japan.
It is not for you and me to propose all the precise ways and means by which freedom shall be established and secured in every part of the world, but it is for us to say that it must be established and secured. It is only for the broadest goal that American men will lay down their lives. We know that we fight, first and last, for our own preservation. But we know, too, that we are not to be preserved in a world any part of which is shut off from the free civilization which alone makes for enduring peace.

Sooner or later the Axis powers had to attack us because as long as we are free and powerful we stand in the way of their dream of world domination -- the subjugation of mankind by the so-called two master races of the earth -- the Nazis and the Japs. For this is not merely a war for colonies, or gold, or land, or trade. It is a war for the loot of human souls -- a war to enslave all the human beings of the world and to make them all work, think, speak and pray only as the war lords of the earth dictate.
The United Nations fight for self-preservation -- but they fight for more. For the free man -- unlike the animal -- thinks beyond his own body; he lives and fights and, if need be, dies to preserve a life that is not of the body alone. We are fighting not only against ruthless military might but also against those ideas which make the dictators want to destroy us and the rest of civilization. We are fighting to maintain ideas which will in the end destroy the dictators themselves and all their hideous doctrines.

Even after we destroy the military power of Germany and Japan, we shall have striven in vain unless we establish everywhere in the world the freedoms which spring from a true conception of the dignity and integrity of the individual man and woman. For we conceive of human beings not as soulless slaves of an almighty state but as part of a state created to serve the well-being of the people themselves.

When we speak of freedom, liberty, democracy we speak of the system of government which recognizes the dignity of the individual -- which recognizes the all important fact that the individual is greater than the state.
The United Nations constitute an association of independent peoples of equal dignity and importance. The United Nations are dedicated to a common cause. They share equally and with equal zeal, the awful sacrifices of war. In the partnership of our common enterprise they must share participation in a unified plan in which each of us must play our several parts, each be equally indispensable and each of us dependent on one another.
We have unified cooperation and comradeship between the armed forces of the United Nations which are engaged in the fighting.

We have unity of command at home.

Americans are counting on unified production and unified acceptance of sacrifice and of effort. That means a national unity that can know no limitations of race or creed or politics, or private organizations. The American people expect that much from themselves. I should like to be able to make that not merely as a promise but as an announcement to the Japanese Admiral who has said that he will dictate the terms of peace here in the White House.

The British and the Russians and the Chinese people have known the full fury of enemy onslaught. There have been times when the fate of London and Moscow was in serious doubt. Chungking has been almost wiped out of existence yet it remains the capital of an unbeatable China.

Let us not spend too much time arguing about the details of the future of the world when we have won this war.

Let us first win this war.
But there was never the slightest question that either the British or the Russians would yield. Holland was occupied within a few days. But the Dutch people are still fighting stubbornly and stoutly. The Chinese people have suffered great losses.
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

That is the indomitable spirit which prevails throughout the United Nations in this war.
We look forward to the future with hope and confidence. We know that the road which leads to that better future is long and hard and we must work and fight every inch of the way. But work and fight we shall, and we shall not be stopped from moving steadily forward.

The task which we now confront will test us to the uttermost. Never before have we been called upon for such a prodigious effort. Never before have we had so little time in which to do so much.

"These are the times that try men's souls."

Tom Paine wrote those words on a drum-head, by the light of a campfire. That was when Washington's little army was retreating across New Jersey, having tasted nothing but defeat. But Washington ordered that the words written by Tom Paine be read to the men of every regiment in the Continental Army, and this was the assurance given to the first American armed forces:

"The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will, in this crisis, shrink from the service of their country; but he that stands it now, deserves the love and thanks of man and woman. Tyranny, like hell, is not easily conquered; yet we have
this consolation with us, that the harder the conflict, the
more glorious the triumph."

So spoke Americans in the year 1776.

So speak Americans today!
If we do not win -- and we can lose only if we slow up or stop to argue too much amongst ourselves -- there will not be very much left to argue about.

We are agreed on certain broad principles in the kind of peace we seek. The Atlantic Charter, for example, applies not only to the parts of the world that border the Atlantic but to the whole world: disarmament of aggressors, self-determination of nations and peoples, and the four freedoms -- freedom of religion, freedom of information, freedom from want, and freedom from fear.

The United Nations, including the United States of America, fight for self-preservation. The task tests us to the uttermost.

Now, folks, put away your maps and take out your Atlantic Charters.
Washington's Birthday is a most appropriate occasion for us to talk with each other about things as they are today and things as we know they shall be in the future.

The predominant trait of Washington was moral stamina. For eight years, his continental army was faced continually with formidable odds and recurring defeats. Supplies and equipment were lacking. In a sense, every winter was a Valley Forge. Throughout the thirteen states there existed fifth columnists -- selfish men, jealous men, fearful men, who proclaimed that Washington's cause was hopeless, that he should ask for a negotiated peace.

Washington's conduct in those hard times has provided the model for all Americans ever since. He held to his course, as it had been charted in the Declaration of Independence. He and the brave men who served with him knew that no man's life or fortune was secure, without freedom and free institutions.

What was true for the thirteen colonies is today true for the forty-eight states and indeed for the entire world.
The present great struggle has taught us that freedom of person and security of property anywhere in the world depend upon world-wide security for the social and international rights and obligations which we call liberty and justice and civilization.

This was a new kind of war. It is different from all other wars of the past, not only in its methods and weapons but also in its geography. It is warfare in terms of every continent, every island, every sea, every air lane in the world.

That is the reason why I have asked you to take out and spread before you the map of the whole earth, and to follow with me the references which I shall make to the world-encircling battle lines of this war.

We must all understand and face the hard fact that our job now is to fight at distances which extend all the way around the globe.
Those broad oceans which have been heralded in
the past as our protection from attack have become endless battlefields on which we are constantly being challenged by our enemies.

We must fight at these vast distances to protect our supply lines and our lines of communication with our allies — protect them from the enemies who are bending every ounce of their strength, striving against time, to cut those lines.

Their object is to separate the United States, Britain, China and Russia, and to isolate them one from another, so that each will be surrounded and cut off from sources of supplies and reinforcements. It is the old Axis policy of "divide and conquer".

Because that is when our enemies are sure that we cannot withstand and we must strike where we can meet them. We must fight at these vast distances.
There are those who still cling to the belief of sailing-
ship days that we should pull our war ships and our planes and
our merchant ships into the Western Atlantic and to our own
Pacific Coast to concentrate solely on last ditch defense. But
let me illustrate what would happen if we followed such foolish
advice.

Look at your map. Look at the vast area of China,
with its millions of fighting men. Look at the vast area of
Russia, with its powerful armies and proven military might.
Look at the British Isles, Australia, New Zealand, the Dutch
Indies, India, the Near East and the Continent of Africa, with
their resources of raw materials and of peoples determined to
resist Axis domination. Look at North, Central, and South America.

What I ask you would happen in all these great reservoirs of power if they were cut off from each other either
by enemy action or self-imposed isolation? You know very well
what would happen. The Axis powers would win this war, because:

1. We could no longer send aid of any kind to China --
to the brave people who, for nearly five years, have withstood
Japanese assault, destroyed hundreds of thousands of Japanese
soldiers, and vast quantities of Japanese war munitions. It
is essential that we help China in her magnificent defense.
and in her inevitable counter-offensive -- for that is one important element in the ultimate defeat of Japan.

2. If we lost communication with the southwest Pacific, all of that area, including Australia and New Zealand, would fall under Japanese domination. Japan could then release great numbers of ships and men to launch attacks on a large scale against the coasts of the Western Hemisphere, including Alaska. At the same time, she could immediately extend her conquests to India, and through the Indian Ocean, to Africa and the Near East. [A glance at your map will show you how this would be done.]

3. If by pulling our heads within our own shells we were to stop sending munitions to the British and the Russians in the Mediterranean and Persian Gulf areas, we would help the Nazis to overrun Turkey, Syria, Iraq, Persia, Egypt and the Suez Canal, the whole coast of North Africa and the whole coast of West Africa -- putting Germany within easy striking distance of South America.

4. If by such a fatuous policy [advocated by a few], we ceased to protect the North Atlantic supply line to Britain and to Russia, we would help to cripple the splendid comeback by Russia against the Nazis, and we would help to deprive Britain of essential food-supplies and munitions.
Those Americans who believe that we could have been living under the illusion of isolationism, it appeared that the American eagle was beginning to resemble an ostrich. Now, some people, afraid that we may be sticking our necks out, want our national bird to be turned into a turtle. But we prefer to retain the eagle as it is -- flying high and striking hard.

I know that I speak for all of the people when I say that we reject the turtle policy and will continue increasingly the policy of carrying the war to the enemy in distant lands and distant waters -- as far as possible from our home grounds.

There are four main lines of communication now being travelled by our ships: the North Atlantic, the South Atlantic, the Indian Ocean and the South Pacific. These routes are not one-way streets -- for the ships which carry our troops and munitions out-bound bring back essential raw materials which we require for our own use.

The maintenance of all these lines of communications between the United Nations is vital.
It is a very tough job. It is a job which requires tremendous daring, tremendous personal fitness, and above all, tremendous production of planes and tanks and guns and all the things to carry them. And I speak again for the American people when I say that we can and will do that job.
The defense of these lines demands relatively safe use by us of the sea and of the air along the various routes; and this, in turn, depends upon control by the United Nations of the strategic bases along those routes.

Control of the air involves the simultaneous use of two types of planes -- first, the long-range heavy bomber; and second, light bombers, dive bombers, torpedo planes, and short-range pursuit planes, which are essential to the protection of the bases and of the bombers themselves.

Heavy bombers can fly under their own power from here to the southwest Pacific; but the smaller planes cannot. Therefore, these lighter planes have to be sent to the southwest Pacific packed in crates on board cargo ships. Look at your map again; and you will see that the route across the South Atlantic around South Africa, is about the same distance and takes about the same amount of time as the route from San Francisco to the East Indies.

A vessel can make a round trip in about four months, or, in other words, only three round trips in a whole year.
in spite of the length and difficulties of this transportation
(Although we have been in the war for only two months and a
half,) I can tell you that we already have a large number of
bombers and pursuit planes, manned by American pilots, which are
now in daily contact with the enemy in the Southwest Pacific.

Furthermore, every plane needs an average of ten men on
the ground at some base for its continued operation. And I can
tell you that thousands of Americans are today in that area
engaged in operations not only in the air but on the ground as
well.

In this battle area, Japan has had a clear advantage.
For she can fly even her short-range planes to the points of
attack by using many stepping stones open to her bases in
a multitude of Pacific islands and also bases on the China,
Indo-China and Thailand coasts. Japanese troop transports
could go south from Japan and China through the narrow China Sea
which can be protected by Japanese planes throughout its whole
length.

I ask you to look at your maps again, particularly at that
portion of the Pacific Ocean lying west of Hawaii. Before this
war even started, the Philippine Islands were already surrounded
on three sides by Japanese power. On the west, the Japanese
were in possession of the coast of China and the coast of Indo-
China which had been yielded to them by the Vichy French. On
the North, lay the islands of Japan themselves, reaching down
almost to northern Luzon. On the east, are the Mandated
Islands which Japan had occupied exclusively, and had fortified
in absolute violation of her written word.

These islands, hundreds of them, appear only as small
dots on most maps. They cover an area from north to south
and from east to west. Guam lies in the middle of them --
a lone outpost which we never fortified.

Immediately after this war started, the Japanese forces
moved down on either side of the Philippines to numerous
points south of them -- thereby completely encircling the
Islands from all four directions -- north, south, east and
west.

It is that complete encirclement with
control of the air by Japanese land-based aircraft, which
has prevented us from sending substantial reinforcements of
men and material to the gallant defenders of the Philippines.

While this may have shocked many Americans, it has always
been the strategy born of necessity that in the event of a
full-scale attack on the Islands by Japan, we should fight
a delaying action, attempting to retire slowly into Bataan
Peninsula and Corregidor.
Under the Washington Treaty of 1921 we had solemnly agreed not to add to the fortification of the Philippine Islands. We had no safe naval base there, so we could not use the islands for extensive naval operations. We knew that the war as a whole would have to be fought and won by a process of attrition against Japan itself. We knew all along that, with our greater resources, we could outbuild Japan and ultimately overwhelm her on sea, on land and in the air. In the meantime, in defense and in attack, we shall continue to destroy the Japanese and their implements of warfare in the Philippines.

Nothing that has occurred in the past two months has caused us to revise this basic strategy except that the defense put up by General MacArthur has magnificently exceeded the previous estimates; and he and his men are gaining eternal glory therefor.

It has been said that Japanese gains in the Philippines were made possible only by the success of their surprise attack on Pearl Harbor. I tell you that this is not so.
Even if the attack had not been made, your map will show
that it would have been folly to send the fleet to the
Philippines through thousands of miles of ocean, while all
those island bases were under the sole control of the Japanese.

The consequences of the attack on Pearl Harbor --
serious as they were -- have been wildly exaggerated in other
ways. These exaggerations came originally from Axis propa-
gandists; but they have been repeated, I regret to say, by
Americans in and out of public life. They are spread through
conversation, speeches, the radio and the press -- and always
with the assurance that they come from what are called
"undisclosed authoritative sources".

I suggest that when you hear any rumor of some hidden
disaster, you ask your informant to prove his statement. If
he mentions some "authority" as his source, ask him to name
this "authority". Nine times out of ten the authority is
the office boy or else his own imagination.

You and I have the utmost contempt for Americans who,
since Pearl Harbor, have whispered or announced "off the
record" that there was no longer any Pacific Fleet -- that
the Fleet was all sunk or destroyed on December 7th. They have
claimed that the government has withheld the truth about
casualties -- that eleven or twelve thousand men were killed at
Pearl Harbor instead of the figures as officially announced. They
have spread the enemy propaganda by spreading the incorrect story.
They even claimed that shiploads of bodies of the dead were about
to arrive in New York harbor to be put in a common grave.

You and I can rest assured that all the major facts
have been and will be disclosed to the American people. We might
as well make up our minds that in many cases -- most cases -- the
details of those facts will not be disclosed until we are absolutely
certain that the announcement will not give important military
information to the enemy.

Your government has unmistakeable confidence in your
ability to hear the worst without flinching or losing heart. You
must, in turn, have complete confidence that your government is
keeping nothing from you except information that will help the
enemy in his attempt to destroy us. In a democracy there is always
a solemn pact of truth between government and the people, but there
must also always be a full use of discretion -- and that word
discretion applies to government and to the critics of government
as well.

The American people realize that in many cases
details of military operations cannot be disclosed.
This is war. Today and throughout its whole course your government will conduct it with full realization of its seriousness and with the sole objective of winning it. The American people understand and approve this purpose. They want to know and will be told, the general trend of how the war is going. They do not wish to help the enemy any more than our fighting forces do; and they will pay little attention to the “birds of ill omen” in our midst.

To pass from the realm of rumor to the field of facts:

To revert to Pearl Harbor: the number of our officers and men killed in the attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7 was 2,340, and we were wounded as to 9,700. Of the losses of ships, referring to all combatant ships based on Pearl Harbor -- battleships, heavy cruisers, light cruisers, aircraft carriers, destroyers, and submarines -- only three were permanently put out of commission.

Very many of the ships of the Pacific Fleet were not even in Pearl Harbor. Some of those that were there were hit very slightly; and others that were more seriously damaged have either rejoined the Fleet by how or are still undergoing repairs. When these repairs of the latter are completed, the ships will be more efficient fighting machines than they were before.
We have suffered losses -- and we shall suffer more of them before the turn of the tide. But, let us say once and for all to the people who dwell in the southwestern Pacific area -- all the way from the Philippines and Indo-China on the north, down through Siam and the Malay States and Singapore and the great Islands of Sumatra, Java, Borneo, New Guinea and the thousands of other Islands -- let me say this: We have been compelled to yield ground, but we will regain it. We are committed to the destruction of militarism of Japan and Germany. We are daily increasing our strength. Soon, we and not our enemies, will have the offensive; we, not they, will win the final battle; and we, not they, will make the final peace.

Millions of human beings in India, China and the Pacific area, like other millions in Europe, know well what it is for people to live under the heel of the Japanese and Nazi conquerors.

Conquered nations in Europe know what the yoke of the Nazis is like. So do the Koreans and the people of Manchuria know in their flesh the harsh despotism of Japan. If there is to be an honorable and decent future for any of the world that future depends on victory by the United Nations over the forces of Axis enslavement.
If a just and durable peace is to be attained, even if all of us are to save our own skins, there is one thought for us at home to keep uppermost -- the fulfillment of our task of production.

Germany, Italy and Japan are very close to their maximum output of planes, guns, tanks and ships. The United Nations are not -- especially the United States of America.

Our first job is to build up production so that the United Nations can maintain control of the seas and attain control of the air -- not merely a slight superiority, but an overwhelming superiority.

On January 6th of this year, I set certain definite goals of production for airplanes, tanks and ships. The Axis propagandists called them fantastic. Tonight, nearly two months later, and after a careful survey of progress by Donald Nelson and others charged with responsibility for our production, I can tell you that those goals will be attained -- and on schedule.

In every part of the country, experts in production and the men and women at work in the plants are giving loyal service. With few exceptions, labor, capital and farming realize that this is no time either to make undue profits or
We are coming to realize that one extra plane or extra tank or extra gun or extra ship tomorrow may, in a few months, turn the tide on some distant battlefield; and may make the difference between life and death for some fighting men.
The Axis propagandists have tried in various evil ways to destroy our determination and our morale. Failing in that, they are now trying to destroy our confidence in our own allies.
Patriotic and sensible Americans will reject these absurdities. And instead of listening to
to gain special advantages, one over the other.

We are calling for new plants and additions to old plants for plant conversion to war needs. We are seeking more men and women to man them. We are working longer hours. People in every walk of life are coming more and more to realize that if we lose this war it will be generations or even centuries before our conception of democracy can live again. And we can lose this war if we show up our effort or if we waste our ammunition sniping at each other.

Here are three high purposes for every American:

1. We shall not stop work for a single day. If any dispute arises we shall keep on working while the dispute is solved by mediation, conciliation or arbitration -- until the war is won.

2. We shall not demand special gains or special or advantages privileges for any one group or occupation.

3. We shall give up conveniences and modify the routine of our lives if our country asks us to do so. We will do it cheerfully, remembering that the common enemy seeks to destroy every home and every freedom in every part of our land.
They say that the British are finished -- that the Russians and the Chinese are about to quit. But, before we listen to any of this propaganda, let us remember some of the things the British and Japanese have said and are still saying about us.

Ever since this nation became the arsenal of democracy -- ever since enactment of Lend-Lease -- there has been one persistent theme through all Axis propaganda [German and Japanese].

This theme has been that Americans are admittedly rich, and that Americans have considerable industrial power -- but that Americans are soft and decadent, that we cannot and will not write to fight.

From Berlin, Rome and Tokyo we have been described as a nation of weaklings -- "playboys" -- who would hire British soldiers, or Russian soldiers, or Chinese soldiers to do our fighting for us.

Let them repeat that now!

Let them tell that to General MacArthur and his men.

Let them tell that to the sailors who rallied from Pearl Harbor to carry the attack into the Marshall Islands.
Let them tell that to the boys in the Flying Fortresses.

Let them tell that to the Marines!

The United Nations constitute an association of independent peoples of equal dignity and importance. The United Nations are dedicated to a common cause. They share equally and with equal zeal the awful sacrifices of war. In the partnership of our common enterprise, we must share participation in a unified plan in which each of us must play our several parts, each be equally indispensable and each of us dependent on one another.

We have unified cooperation and comradeship.

We Americans are counting on unified production and unified acceptance of sacrifice and of effort. That means a national unity that can know no limitations of race or creed or politics. The American people expect that much from themselves. And the American people will find/of expressing their determination to their enemies, including the Japanese Admiral who has said that he will dictate the terms of peace here in the White House.
The British and the Russian people have known the full fury of enemy onslaught. There have been times when the fate of London and Moscow was in serious doubt. But there was never the slightest question that either the British or the Russians would yield. Holland was overrun within a few days. But the Dutch people are still fighting stubbornly and powerfully. The Chinese people have suffered great losses. Chungking has been almost wiped out of existence yet it remains the capital of an unbeatable China.

That is the indomitable spirit which prevails throughout the United Nations in this war.

We cannot spend too much time not debating the details of the future of the world when we have won this war. Let us first win this war.
If we do not win -- and we can lose only if we slow up our effort or waste our ammunition sniping at each other -- there will not be very much left to argue about.

Now, folks, get out your maps and take out your atlantic charters.

We are agreed on certain broad principles in the kind of peace we seek. The Atlantic Charter applies not only to the parts of the world that border the Atlantic but to the whole world: disarmament of aggressors, self-determination of nations and peoples, and the four freedoms -- freedom of information, freedom of religion, freedom from want, and freedom from fear.

The United Nations, including the United States of America, fight for self-preservation. The task tests us to the uttermost.
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"These are the times that try men's souls."

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Washington ordered that these great words written by Tom Paine be read to the men of every regiment in the Continental Army, and this was the assurance given to the first American armed forces:

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So spoke Americans in the year 1776.

So speak Americans today!
WASHINGTON'S Birthday is a most appropriate occasion for us to talk with each other about things as they are today and things as we know they shall be in the future.

For eight years, General Washington and his continental army were faced continually with formidable odds and recurring defeats. Supplies and equipment were lacking. In a sense, every winter was a Valley Forge. Throughout the thirteen states there existed fifth columnists -- selfish men, jealous men, fearful men, who proclaimed that Washington's cause was hopeless, that he should ask for a negotiated peace.

Washington's conduct in those hard times has provided the model for all Americans ever since -- a model of moral stamina. He held to his course, as it had been charted in the Declaration of Independence. He and the brave men who served with him knew that no man's life or fortune was secure, without freedom and free institutions.

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immediately, but I know you will understand I cannot cover everything
as our protection from attack have become endless battlefields
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We must all understand and face the hard fact that
our job now is to fight at distances which extend all the
way around the globe.
We fight at these vast distances because that is where our enemies are, and we must strike wherever and when we can meet them. We must fight at these vast distances to protect our supply lines and our lines of communication with our allies -- protect them from the enemies who are bending every ounce of their strength, striving against time, to cut those lines. Their object is to separate the United States, Britain, China and Russia, and to isolate them one from another, so that each will be surrounded and cut off from sources of supplies and reinforcements. It is the old familiar Axis policy of "divide and conquer".

There are those who still think in terms of the days of sailing-ships. They advise us to pull our war ships and our planes and our merchant ships into the Western Atlantic and to our own Pacific coast, concentrate solely on last ditch defense. But let me illustrate what would happen if we followed such foolish advice.

Look at your map. Look at the vast area of China, with its millions of fighting men. Look at the vast area of Russia, with its powerful armies and proven military might. Look at the British Isles, Australia, New Zealand, the Dutch Indies, India, the Near East and the Continent of Africa, with their resources of raw materials and of peoples determined to resist Axis domination. Look at North America, Central America, and South America.
A. Under our forces' supplies given us clear superiority. We must keep on striking the enemy whenever and wherever we can meet them.

even if, for a while, we have to yield ground. Actually we are taking a heavy toll of the enemy every day that goes by. 
What would happen if all these great reservoirs of power were cut off from each other either by enemy action or by self-imposed isolation? You know very well what would happen. The Axis would win this war, because:

1. We could no longer send aid of any kind to China -- to the brave people who, for nearly five years, have withstood Japanese assault, destroyed hundreds of thousands of Japanese soldiers, and vast quantities of Japanese war munitions. It is essential that we help China in her magnificent defense and in her inevitable counter-offensive -- for that is one important element in the ultimate defeat of Japan.

2. If we lost communication with the southwest Pacific, all of that area, including Australia and New Zealand, would fall under Japanese domination. Japan could then release great numbers of ships and men to launch attacks on a large scale against the coasts of the Western Hemisphere, including Alaska. At the same time, she could immediately extend her conquests to India, and through the Indian Ocean, to Africa and the Near East.

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we were to stop sending munitions to the British and the Russians in the Mediterranean and Persian Gulf areas, we would help the
Nazis to overrun Turkey, Syria, Iran, Persia, Egypt and the Suez Canal, the whole coast of North Africa and the whole coast of West Africa -- putting Germany within easy striking distance of South America.

4. If by such a fatuous policy, we ceased to protect the North Atlantic supply line to Britain and to Russia, we would help to cripple the splendid counter-offensive by Russia against the Nazis, and we would help to deprive Britain of essential food-supplies and munitions.

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pursuit planes which are essential to the protection of the bases and of the bombers themselves.

Heavy bombers can fly under their own power from here to the southwest Pacific; but the smaller planes cannot. Therefore, these lighter planes have to be **sent to the southwest Pacific** packed in crates on board cargo ships. Look at your map again; and you will see that the route is long -- and at many places perilous -- either across the South Atlantic around South Africa, or from California to the East Indies direct. A vessel can make a round trip by either route in about four months, or, in other words, only three round trips in a whole year.

In spite of the length and difficulties of this transportation, I can tell you that we already have a large number of bombers and pursuit planes, manned by American pilots, which are now in daily contact with the enemy in the Southwest Pacific. And thousands of American troops are today in that area engaged in operations not only in the air but on the ground as well.

In this battle area, Japan has had an obvious initial advantage. For she could fly even her short-range planes to the points of attack by using many stepping stones open to her --
bases in a multitude of Pacific islands and also bases on the
China, Indo-China, Thailand and Malay coasts. Japanese troop
transports could go south from Japan and China through the
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These islands, hundreds of them, appear only as small
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Immediately after this war started, the Japanese forces moved down on either side of the Philippines to numerous points south of them — thereby completely encircling the Islands from all four directions — north, south, east and west.

It is that complete encirclement, with control of the air by Japanese land-based aircraft, which has prevented us from sending substantial reinforcements of men and material to the gallant defenders of the Philippines. It has always been our strategy — a strategy born of necessity — that in the event of a full-scale attack on the Islands by Japan, we should fight a delaying action, attempting to retire slowly into Bataan Peninsula and Corregidor.

We knew that the war as a whole would have to be fought and won by a process of attrition against Japan itself. We knew all along that, with our greater resources, we could outbuild Japan and ultimately overwhelm her on sea, on land and in the air.
We knew that, to obtain our objective, many varieties of operations would be necessary in areas other than the Philippines.

Nothing that has occurred in the past two months has caused us to revise this basic strategy -- except that the defense put up by General MacArthur has magnificently exceeded the previous estimates; and he and his men are gaining eternal glory therefore.

It has been said that Japanese gains in the Philippines were made possible only by the success of their surprise attack on Pearl Harbor. I tell you that this is not so.

Even if the attack had not been made, your map will show that it would have been impossible to send the fleet to the Philippines through thousands of miles of ocean, while all those island bases were under the sole control of the Japanese.

The consequences of the attack on Pearl Harbor -- serious as they were -- have been wildly exaggerated in other ways. These exaggerations came originally from Axis propagandists; but they have been repeated, I regret to say, by Americans in and out of public life.
MacArthur’s army of Filipinos and Americans, and the forces of the United Nations in China, in Burma and the Netherlands East Indies, are altogether fulfilling the same task of making Japan pay an increasingly terrible price for her ambitious attempts to seize control of the whole Asiatic world. Every Japanese transport that has sunk off Java is one less transport that they can use to carry reinforcements to Luzon.
You and I have the utmost contempt for Americans who, since Pearl Harbor, have whispered or announced "off the record" that there was no longer any Pacific Fleet -- that the Fleet was all sunk or destroyed on December 7th. They have suggested slyly that the government has withheld the truth about casualties -- that eleven or twelve thousand men were killed at Pearl Harbor instead of the figures as officially announced. They have even served the enemy propagandists by spreading the incredible story that shiploads of bodies of our honored American dead were about to arrive in New York harbor to be put in a common grave.

The American people realize that in many cases details of military operations cannot be disclosed until we are absolutely certain that the announcement will not give to the enemy military information which he does not already possess.

Your government has unmistakeable confidence in your ability to hear the worst, without flinching or losing heart. You must, in turn, have complete confidence that your government is keeping nothing from you except information that will help the enemy in his attempt to destroy us. In a democracy there is always a solemn pact of truth between government and the people; but there...
Almost every Axis broadcast directly quotes Americans who, by speech or in the press, make deplorable statements like that.
must also always be a full use of discretion -- and that word "discretion" applies to the critics of government as well.

This is war. The American people understand and approve the will of their government to win this war. They want to know, and will be told, the general trend of how the war is going. But they do not wish to help the enemy any more than our fighting forces do; and they will pay little attention to the rumor-mongers and poison peddlers in our midst.

To pass from the realm of rumor to the field of facts: the number of our officers in the attack on Pearl Harbor on December seventh was 2,240, and the number wounded was 946. Of all the combatant ships based on Pearl Harbor -- battleships, heavy cruisers, light cruisers, aircraft carriers, destroyers, and submarines -- only three were permanently put out of commission.

Very many of the ships of the Pacific Fleet were not even in Pearl Harbor. Some of those that were there were hit very slightly; and others that were damaged have either rejoined the Fleet by now or are still undergoing repairs. When those repairs are completed, the ships will be more efficient fighting machines than they were before.
We have suffered losses -- and we shall suffer more of them before the turn of the tide. But, speaking for the United States of America, let me say once and for all to the people of the world: We Americans have been compelled to yield ground, but we will regain it. We and our allies are committed to the destruction of the militarism of Japan and Germany. We are daily increasing our strength. Soon, we and not our enemies, will have the offensive; we, not they, will win the final battle; and we, not they, will make the final peace.

Conquered nations in Europe know what the yoke of the Nazis is like. Koreans and Manchurians know in their flesh the harsh despotism of Japan. All of the peoples of Asia know that there is to be an honorable and decent future for any of them or us, that future depends on victory by the United Nations over the forces of Axis enslavement.

If a just and durable peace is to be attained, or even if all of us are merely to save our own skins, there is one thought for us here at home to keep uppermost -- the fulfillment of our special task of production.
The report that we lost more than a thousand airplanes at Pearl Harbor is as baseless as the other weird rumors. The Japanese don't know just how many planes they destroyed that day, and I am not going to tell them. But I can say that the total score of planes more Japanese losses than they have of ours, destroyed in the air and on the ground including those at Pearl Harbor is very heavily in our favor. In aerial combat, our fliers are knocking down at least four Japanese planes for every one of ours that is lost. We can expect that ratio to increase as we gain greater numerical strength in the air.

To-date and including Pearl Harbor, we have destroyed considerably more Japanese planes than they have destroyed of ours.
Germany, Italy and Japan are very close to their maximum output of planes, guns, tanks and ships. The United Nations are not -- especially the United States of America.

Our first job then is to build up production so that the United Nations can maintain control of the seas and attain control of the air -- not merely a slight superiority, but an overwhelming superiority.

On January sixth of this year, I set certain definite goals of production for airplanes, tanks, guns and ships. The Axis propagandists called them fantastic. Tonight, nearly two months later, and after a careful survey of progress by Donald Nelson and others charged with responsibility for our production, I can tell you that those goals will be attained, and on schedule.

In every part of the country, experts in production and the men and women at work in the plants are giving loyal service. With few exceptions, labor, capital and farming realize that this is no time either to make undue profits or to gain special advantages, one over the other.
We are calling for new plants and additions to old plants and for plant conversion to war needs. We are seeking more men and women to join them. We are working longer hours. We are coming to realize that one extra plane or extra tank or extra gun or extra ship completed tomorrow may, in a few months, turn the tide on some distant battlefield; it may make the difference between life and death for some of our fighting men. We know now that if we lose this war it will be generations or even centuries before our conception of democracy can live again. And we can lose this war only if we slow up our effort or if we waste our ammunition sniping at each other.

Here are three high purposes for every American:

1. We shall not stop work for a single day. If any dispute arises we shall keep on working while the dispute is solved by mediation, conciliation or arbitration -- until the war is won.

2. We shall not demand special gains or special privileges or advantages for any one group or occupation.
3. We shall give up conveniences and modify the routine of our lives if our country asks us to do so. We will do it cheerfully, remembering that the common enemy seeks to destroy every home and every freedom in every part of our land.

The Axis propagandists have tried in various evil ways to destroy our determination and our morale. Failing in that, they are now trying to destroy our confidence in our own allies. They say that the British are finished -- that the Russians and the Chinese are about to quit. Patriotic and sensible Americans will reject these absurdities. And instead of listening to any of this crude propaganda, they will recall some of the things the Nazis and Japanese have said and are still saying about us.

Ever since this nation became the arsenal of democracy -- ever since enactment of Lend Lease -- there has been one persistent theme through all Axis propaganda.
his generation of Americans has come to realize, with a present and personal realization, that there is something larger and more important than the life of any individual or of any group of individuals—something for which a man will sacrifice, and gladly sacrifice, not only his pleasures, not only his goods, not only his associations with those he loves, but his life itself. In times of peace we talk about our duties to the nation, half understanding and half believing what we say. In times of crisis when the future of people is in the balance, we come to understand, with the full understanding of recognition and devotion, what this nation is, and what we owe to it.
This theme has been that Americans are admittedly rich, and that Americans have considerable industrial power -- but that Americans are soft and decadent, that they cannot and will not unite and work and fight.

From Berlin, Rome and Tokyo we have been described as a nation of weaklings -- "playboys" -- who would hire British soldiers, or Russian soldiers, or Chinese soldiers to do our fighting for us.

Let them repeat that now!

Let them tell that to General MacArthur and his men.

Let them tell that to the sailors who pulled from Pearl Harbor to carry the attack into the Marshall Islands.

Let them tell that to the boys in the Flying Fortresses.

Let them tell that to the Marines!

The United Nations constitute an association of independent peoples of equal dignity and importance. The United Nations are dedicated to a common cause. We share equally and with equal zeal the anguish and awful sacrifices of war. In the partnership of our common enterprise, we must share participation in a unified plan in which each of us must play our several parts, each equally indispensable and dependent on the other.
We have unified command and cooperation and comradeship.

We Americans will contribute unified production and unified acceptance of sacrifice and of effort. That means a national unity that can know no limitations of race or creed or politics. The American people expect that much from themselves. And the American people will find ways and means of expressing their determination to their enemies, including the Japanese Admiral who has said that he will dictate the terms of peace here in the White House.

The British and the Russian people have known the full fury of onslaught. There have been times when the fate of London and Moscow was in serious doubt. But there was never the slightest question that either the British or the Russians would yield. Gallows was overrun within a few days.

The Dutch people are still fighting stubbornly and powerfully. The Chinese people have suffered great losses; Chungking has been almost wiped out of existence; yet it remains the capital of an unbeatable China.

That is the conquering spirit which prevails throughout the United Nations in this war.
And to-day all the
United Nations salute
the superb Russian Army
as it celebrates the 25th
Anniversary of its first
Assembly. The little
Homeland.
We are agreed on certain broad principles in the kind of peace we seek. The Atlantic Charter applies not only to the parts of the world that border the Atlantic but to the whole world; disarmament of aggressors, self-determination of nations and peoples, and the four freedoms -- freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom from want, and freedom from fear.

The task that we face tests us to the uttermost. Never before have we been called upon for such a prodigious effort. Never before have we had so little time in which to do so much.

"These are the times that try men's souls."

Tom Paine wrote those words on a drum-head, by the light of a campfire. That was when Washington's little ragged army was retreating across New Jersey, having tasted nothing but defeat.

And General Washington ordered that these great words written by Tom Paine be read to the men of every regiment in the Continental Army, and this was the assurance given to the first American armed forces:
"The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will, in this crisis, shrink from the service of their country; but he that stands it now, deserves the love and thanks of man and woman. Tyranny, like hell, is not easily conquered; yet we have this consolation with us, that the harder the sacrifice, the more glorious the triumph."

So spoke Americans in the year 1776.

So speak Americans today!

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Washington's Birthday is a most appropriate occasion for us to talk with each other about things as they are today and things as we know they shall be in the future.

For eight years, General Washington and his Continental Army were faced continually with formidable odds and recurring defeats. Supplies and equipment were lacking. In a sense, every winter was a Valley Forge. Throughout the thirteen states there existed fifth columnists -- selfish men, jealous men, fearful men, who proclaimed that Washington's cause was hopeless, that he should ask for a negotiated peace.

Washington's conduct in those hard times has provided the model for all Americans ever since -- a model of moral stamina. He held to his course, as it had been charted in the Declaration of Independence. He and the brave men who served with him knew that no man's life or fortune was secure, without freedom and free institutions.

The present great struggle has taught us increasingly that freedom of person and security of property anywhere in the world depend upon the security of the rights and obligations of liberty and justice everywhere in the world.
This war is a new kind of war. It is different from all other wars of the past, not only in its methods and weapons but also in its geography. It is warfare in terms of every continent, every island, every sea, every air-lane in the world.

That is the reason why I have asked you to take out and spread before you the map of the whole earth, and to follow with me the references which I shall make to the world-encircling battle lines of this war. Many questions will, I fear, remain unanswered; but I know you will realize I cannot cover everything in any one report to the people.

The broad oceans which have been heralded in the past as our protection from attack have become endless battlefields on which we are constantly being challenged by our enemies.

We must all understand and face the hard fact that our job now is to fight at distances which extend all the way around the globe.

We fight at these vast distances because that is where our enemies are. Until our flow of supplies gives us clear superiority we must keep on striking the enemy wherever and whenever we can meet them, even if, for a while, we have to yield ground. Actually we are taking a heavy toll of the enemy every day that goes by.
We must fight at these vast distances to protect our supply lines and our lines of communication with our allies — protect them from the enemies who are bending every ounce of their strength, striving against time, to cut those lines of the Nazis and the Japanese. Their object is to separate the United States, Britain, China and Russia, and to isolate them one from another, so that each will be surrounded and cut off from sources of supplies and reinforcements. It is the old familiar Axis policy of "divide and conquer".

There are those who still think in terms of the days of sailing-ships. They advise us to pull our war ships and our planes and our merchant ships into our own home waters and concentrate solely on last ditch defense. But let me illustrate what would happen if we followed such foolish advice.

Look at your map. Look at the vast area of China, with its millions of fighting men. Look at the vast area of Russia, with its powerful armies and proven military might. Look at the British Isles, Australia, New Zealand, the Dutch Indies, India, the Near East and the Continent of Africa, with their resources of raw materials and of peoples determined to resist Axis domination. Look at North America, Central America and South America.
It is obvious that what would happen if all these great reservoirs of power were cut off from each other either by enemy action or by self-imposed isolation:

1. We could no longer send aid of any kind to China -- to the brave people who, for nearly five years, have withstood Japanese assault, destroyed hundreds of thousands of Japanese soldiers, and vast quantities of Japanese war munitions. It is essential that we help China in her magnificent defense and in her inevitable counter-offensive -- for that is one important element in the ultimate defeat of Japan.

2. If we lost communication with the southwest Pacific, all of that area, including Australia and New Zealand, would fall under Japanese domination. Japan could then release great numbers of ships and men to launch attacks on a large scale against the coasts of the Western Hemisphere, including Alaska. At the same time, she could immediately extend her conquests to India, and through the Indian Ocean, to Africa and the Near East.
3. If we were to stop sending munitions to the British and the Russians in the Mediterranean and Persian Gulf areas, we would help the Nazis to overrun Turkey, Syria, Irak, Persia, Egypt and the Suez Canal, the whole coast of North Africa and the whole coast of West Africa -- putting Germany within easy striking distance of South America.

4. If, by such a fatuous policy, we ceased to protect the North Atlantic supply line to Britain and to Russia, we would help to cripple the splendid counter-offensive by Russia against the Nazis, and we would help to deprive Britain of essential food-supplies and munitions.

Those Americans who believed that we could live under the illusion of isolationism wanted the American eagle to imitate the tactics of the ostrich. Now, many of those same people, afraid that we may be sticking our necks out, want our national bird to be turned into a turtle. But we prefer to retain the eagle as it is -- flying high and striking hard.

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I know that I speak for the mass of the American people when I say that we reject the turtle policy and will continue increasingly the policy of carrying the war to the enemy in distant lands and distant waters -- as far as possible from our own home grounds.
There are four main lines of communication now being travelled by our ships: the North Atlantic, the South Atlantic, the Indian Ocean and the South Pacific. These routes are not one-way streets -- for the ships which carry our troops and munitions out-bound bring back essential raw materials which we require for our own use.

It is vital that we maintain them. The maintenance of these vital lines is a very tough job. It is a job which requires tremendous daring, tremendous resourcefulness, and, above all, tremendous production of planes and tanks and guns and of the ships to carry them. And I speak again for the American people when I say that we can and will do that job.

The defense of the world-wide lines of communication demands relatively safe use by us of the sea and of the air along the various routes; and this, in turn, depends upon control by the United Nations of the strategic bases along those routes.

Control of the air involves the simultaneous use of two types of planes -- first, the long-range heavy bomber; and, second, light bombers, dive bombers, torpedo planes, and short-range pursuit planes which are essential to the protection of the bases and of the bombers themselves.
Heavy bombers can fly under their own power from here to the southwest Pacific; but the smaller planes cannot. Therefore, these lighter planes have to be packed in crates and sent on board cargo ships. Look at your map again; and you will see that the route is long -- and at many places perilous --- either across the South Atlantic around South Africa, or from California to the East Indies direct. A vessel can make a round trip by either route in about four months, or [in other words] only three round trips in a whole year.

In spite of the length and difficulties of this transportation, I can tell you that we already have a large number of bombers and pursuit planes, manned by American pilots, which are now in daily contact with the enemy in the Southwest Pacific. And thousands of American troops are today in that area engaged in operations not only in the air but on the ground as well.

In this battle area, Japan has had an obvious initial advantage. For she could fly even her short-range planes to the points of attack by using many stepping stones open to her --- bases in a multitude of Pacific islands and also bases on the
China, Indo-China, Thailand and Malay coasts. Japanese troop transports could go south from Japan and China through the narrow China Sea which can be protected by Japanese planes throughout its whole length.

I ask you to look at your maps again, particularly at that portion of the Pacific Ocean lying west of Hawaiis. Before this war even started, the Philippine Islands were already surrounded on three sides by Japanese power. On the west, the Japanese were in possession of the coast of China and the coast of Indo-China which had been yielded to them by the Vichy French. On the North, are the islands of Japan themselves, reaching down almost to northern Luzon. On the east, are the Mandated Islands -- which Japan had occupied exclusively, and had fortified in absolute violation of her written word.

These islands, hundreds of them, appear only as small dots on most maps. But they cover a large strategic area. Guam lies in the middle of them -- a lone outpost which we never fortified.
Under the Washington Treaty of 1921 we had solemnly agreed not to add to the fortification of the Philippine Islands. We had no safe naval base there, so we could not use the islands for extensive naval operations.

Immediately after this war started, the Japanese forces moved down on either side of the Philippines to numerous points south of them -- thereby completely encircling the Islands from north, south, east and west.

It is that complete encirclement, with control of the air by Japanese land-based aircraft, which has prevented us from sending substantial reinforcements of men and material to the gallant defenders of the Philippines. For forty years it has always been our strategy -- a strategy born of necessity -- that in the event of a full-scale attack on the Islands by Japan, we should fight a delaying action, attempting to retire slowly into Bataan Peninsula and Corregidor.

We knew that the war as a whole would have to be fought and won by a process of attrition against Japan itself. We knew all along that, with our greater resources, we could outbuild Japan and ultimately overwhelm her on sea, on land and in the air. We knew that, to obtain our objective, many
varieties of operations would be necessary in areas other than the Philippines.

Nothing that has occurred in the past two months has caused us to revise this basic strategy -- except that the defense put up by General MacArthur has magnificently exceeded the previous estimates; and he and his men are gaining eternal glory therefor.

MacArthur's army of Filipinos and Americans, and the forces of the United Nations in China, in Burma and the Netherlands East Indies, are all together fulfilling the same essential task of making Japan pay an increasingly terrible price for her ambitious attempts to seize control of the whole Atlantic world. Every Japanese transport sunk off Java is one less transport that they can use to carry reinforcements to their army opposing General MacArthur in Luzon.

It has been said that Japanese gains in the Philippines were made possible only by the success of their surprising attack on Pearl Harbor. I tell you that this is not so.

Even if the attack had not been made, your map will show that it would have been a hopeless operation to send the Fleet to the Philippines through thousands of miles of ocean, while all those island bases were under the sole control of the Japanese.
The consequences of the attack on Pearl Harbor -- serious as they were -- have been wildly exaggerated in other ways. These exaggerations come originally from Axis propagandists; but they have been repeated, I regret to say, by Americans in and out of public life.
You and I have the utmost contempt for Americans who, since Pearl Harbor, have whispered or announced "off the record" that there was no longer any Pacific Fleet -- that the Fleet was all sunk or destroyed on December 7th -- that more than 1,000 of our planes were destroyed on the ground. They have suggested slyly that the government has withheld the truth about casualties -- that eleven or twelve thousand men were killed at Pearl Harbor instead of the figures as officially announced. They have even served the enemy propagandists by spreading the incredible story that shiploads of bodies of our honored American dead were about to arrive in New York harbor to be put in a common grave.

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Your government has unmistakable confidence in your ability to hear the worst, without flinching or losing heart. You must, in turn, have complete confidence that your government is keeping nothing from you except information that will help the enemy in his attempt to destroy us. In a democracy there is always a solemn pact of truth between government and the people; but there must also always be a full use of discretion -- and that word "discretion" applies to the critics of government as well.

This is war. The American people want to know, and will be told, the general trend of how the war is going. But they do not wish to help the enemy any more than our fighting forces do; and they will pay little attention to the rumor-mongers and poison peddlers in our midst.

To pass from the realm of rumor and poison to the field of facts: the number of our officers and men killed in the attack on Pearl Harbor on December seventh was 2,340, and the number wounded was 946. Of all the combatant ships based on Pearl Harbor -- battleships, heavy cruisers, light cruisers, aircraft carriers, destroyers, and submarines -- only three were permanently put out of commission.
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The report that we lost more than a thousand airplanes at Pearl Harbor is as baseless as the other weird rumors. The Japanese do not know just how many planes they destroyed that day, and I am not going to tell them. But I can say that to-date -- and including Pearl Harbor -- we have destroyed considerably more Japanese planes than they have destroyed of ours.

We have most certainly suffered losses -- from Hitler's U-Boats in the Atlantic as well as from the Japanese in the Pacific -- and we shall suffer more of them before the turn of the tide. But, speaking for the United States of America, let me say once and for all to the people of the world: We Americans have been compelled to yield ground, but we will regain it. We and the other United Nations are committed to
the destruction of the militarism of Japan and Germany. We are daily increasing our strength. Soon, we and not our enemies, will have the offensive; we, not they, will win the final battle; and we, not they, will make the final peace.

Conquered nations in Europe know what the yoke of the Nazis is like. And the people of Korea and of Manchuria know in their flesh the harsh despotism of Japan. All of the peoples of Asia know that if there is to be an honorable and decent future for any of them or us, that future depends on victory by the United Nations over the forces of Axis enslavement.

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Germany, Italy and Japan are very close to their maximum output of planes, guns, tanks and ships. The United Nations are not -- especially the United States of America.

Our first job then is to build up production so that the United Nations can maintain control of the seas and attain control of the air -- not merely a slight superiority, but an overwhelming superiority.

On January 6th of this year, I set certain definite goals of production for airplanes, tanks, guns and ships. The Axis propagandists called them fantastic. Tonight, nearly two months later, and after a careful survey of progress by Donald Nelson and others charged with responsibility for our production, I can tell you that those goals will be attained.

In every part of the country, experts in production and the men and women at work in the plants are giving loyal service. With few exceptions, labor, capital and farming realize that this is no time either to make undue profits or to gain special advantages, one over the other.
We are calling for new plants and additions to old plants and for plant conversion to war needs. We are seeking more men and women to run them. We are working longer hours. We are coming to realize that one extra plane or extra tank or extra gun or extra ship completed tomorrow may, in a few months, turn the tide on some distant battlefield; it may make the difference between life and death for some of our fighting men. We know now that if we lose this war it will be generations or even centuries before our conception of democracy can live again. And we can lose this war only if we slow up our effort or if we waste our ammunition sniping at each other.

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1. We shall not stop work for a single day. If any dispute arises we shall keep on working while the dispute is solved by mediation, conciliation or arbitration -- until the war is won.

2. We shall not demand special gains or special privileges or advantages for any one group or occupation.
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home and every freedom in every part of our land.

This generation of Americans has come to realize,
with a present and personal realization, that there is something
larger and more important than the life of any individual or
of any individual group -- something for which a man will
sacrifice, and gladly sacrifice, not only his pleasures, not
only his goods, not only his associations with those he loves,
but his life itself. In time of crisis when the future is in
the balance, we come to understand, with full recognition and
devotion, what this nation is, and what we owe to it.

The Axis propagandists have tried in various evil
ways to destroy our determination and our morale. Failing in
that, they are now trying to destroy our confidence in our
own allies. They say that the British are finished -- that the
Russians and the Chinese are about to quit. Patriotic and
sensible Americans will reject these absurdities. And instead
of listening to any of this crude propaganda, they will recall
some of the things that Nazis and Japanese have said and are still saying about us.

Ever since this nation became the arsenal of democracy -- ever since enactment of Lend Lease -- there has been one persistent theme through all Axis propaganda.

This theme has been that Americans are admittedly rich, and that Americans have considerable industrial power -- but that Americans are soft and decadent, that they cannot and will not unite and work and fight.

From Berlin, Rome and Tokyo we have been described as a nation of weaklings -- "playboys" -- who would hire British soldiers, or Russian soldiers, or Chinese soldiers to do our fighting for us.

Let them repeat that now!

Let them tell that to General MacArthur and his men.

Let them tell that to the sailors who today are hitting the enemy hard in the far waters of the Pacific.

Let them tell that to the boys in the Flying Fortresses.

Let them tell that to the Marines!
The United Nations constitute an association of independent peoples of equal dignity and importance. The United Nations are dedicated to a common cause. We share equally and with equal zeal the anguish and awful sacrifices of war. In the partnership of our common enterprise, we must share in a unified plan in which all of us must play our several parts, each of us being equally indispensable and dependent one on the other.

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We of the United Nations are agreed on certain broad principles in the kind of peace we seek. The Atlantic Charter applies not only to the parts of the world that border the Atlantic
but to the whole world; disarmament of aggressors, self-
determination of nations and peoples, and the four freedoms --
freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom from want, and
freedom from fear.
The British and the Russian people have known the full fury of Nazi onslaught. There have been times when the fate of London and Moscow was in serious doubt. But there was never the slightest question that either the British or the Russians would yield. And today all the United Nations salute the superb Russian Army as it celebrates the twenty-fourth anniversary of its first assembly.

Though their homeland was overrun, the Dutch people are still fighting stubbornly and powerfully overseas.

The great Chinese people have suffered grievous losses; Chungking has been almost wiped out of existence yet it remains the capital of an unbeatable China.

That is the conquering spirit which prevails throughout the United Nations in this war.

The task that we Americans now face will test us to the uttermost.

Never before have we been called upon for such a prodigious effort. Never before have we had so little time in which to do so much.

"These are the times that try men's souls".
Tom Paine wrote those words on a drum-head, by the light of a campfire. That was when Washington’s little army of ragged, rugged men was retreating across New Jersey, having tasted nothing but defeat.

And General Washington ordered that these great words written by Tom Paine be read to the men of every regiment in the Continental Army, and this was the assurance given to the first American armed forces:

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